THE

MENOMINI INDIANS

BY

WALTER JAMES HOFFMAN

EXTRACT FROM THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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52276

S S B. Oct. 14, '02

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATION

The circumstances under which the materials for the accompanying memoir were procured are as follows:

Having succeeded, in the years 1887–1890, in obtaining from the Ojibwa Indians of northern Minnesota instruction in the ritual and ceremonials of initiation into the Midē'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of that tribe, together with copies of hitherto unknown mnemonic charts and songs, on birch bark, relating to their genesis and cosmogony, the results were published in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

In consequence of this exposition of what was to them a secret of vital importance, the attention of some Menomini shamans, who visited Washington during the first three months of 1890, was gained, and, after protracted conferences, the proposition was made by the chief, Nio'pet, that a visit to their reservation, at Keshena, Wisconsin, be made; that, after proper instruction by some shamans to be appointed, due initiation into their society, termed the Mitä'wit, would be conferred, in order that their version of the traditions and dramatized forms of initiation could be studied and preserved "for the information of future generations of the Menomini," these arrangements being made in anticipation of the consent of the chiefs of the society.

The first visit was therefore made to Keshena in 1890, followed by four subsequent visits, to attend to the necessary instruction and ceremonials of the society. It was during these visits that other new and interesting facts were obtained—material relating to their mythology, social organization and government, customs, industries, and gentile system and division into gentes and phratries, together with linguistic data germane to the subject in general.

These facts were believed to be entirely new to ethnology, as the Menomini had not hitherto received careful attention by students, the

fugitive papers relating to this tribe being exceedingly brief, and often difficult of access to the general reader.

HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

The Menomini Indians are located on a reservation in the northeastern part of Wisconsin, and occupy almost the same territory in which they were found by Nicollet in 1634. Their history is intimately connected with that of the Winnebago, as they have lived with or beside that tribe from very early times, although their language shows them to belong to the Algonquian stock, and more nearly related to the Ojibwa than to any other.

THE TRIBAL NAME

The word Menomini is from Ouäʹnominēʹūˣ (mänoʹme, rice, and inäʹneuˣ or inäʹni, man). Shea[1] says the "name is the Algonquin term for the grain *Zizania aquatica*—in English, Wild Rice. The French called both the grain and tribe Fol Avoin—Wild Oats."

The tribe has been designated in literature under a variety of synonyms, of which the following are a list, together with the authorities therefor, and such additional notes of the respective authors as may be deemed of interest. Some of the changes in orthography are due to misprints, but still have a certain value in identification. The people of the tribe designate themselves "Menomini," or "Menomoni" giving preference to the latter, in which the sound of o is heard, although the letter i of the former term is more in harmony with the etymology of the word.

Synonymy

Addle-Heads.—Jeffreys, Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America, pt. 1, London, 1761, p. 18.

Falsavoins.—(Johnson, London Doc. xxxvi, 1763) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583. (Probably that portion of the tribe living near Green bay; enumerates 110 as belonging to Ottawa confederacy.)

Falsavoins.—(Harrison, 1814) Drake, Life of Tecumseh, and of his Brother, the Prophet, etc, Cincinnati, 1852, p. 162.

Folles avoins.—(State of British Plantations in America, in 1721) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. v, Albany, 1855, p. 622.

Folle Avoine.—Relations des Jésuites (1671), tome iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 25.

Folle Avoines.—Mem. of 1718) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 889.

Folles, Les.—Featherstonhaugh, A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor, etc, vol. i, London, 1847, p. 174.

Follesavoine.—(Vaudreuil, 1720) Margry, Decouvertes, tome vi, Paris, 1866, p. 511.

Folles Avoines.—Cadillac, 1695) Margry, Découvertes, tome v, Paris, 1883, p. 121.

Fols, Les.—(Baden, 1830) Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi . . . , tome iv, Lyons, 1853, p. 537.

Fols Avoin.—Pike, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc, Philadelphia, 1810, p. 13.

Fols Avoines.—Brown, Western Gazetteer, Auburn, 1817, p. 265.

Folsavoins.—(Johnson, 1763) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583.

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin, vol. iv, for 1856, Madison, 1857, p. 134.

Fols-avoise.—(Schermerhorn, 1812) Col. Massachusetts Soc., vol. ii, 2d ser., Boston, 1814, p. 10.

Fulawin.—(Dalton, 1783) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., vol. x, 1st ser., Boston, 1809, p. 123.

Macomilé.—(La Chesnaye) Margry, Découvertes, tome vi, Paris, 1886, p. 6.

Mahnomonie.—James in Tanner's Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures, etc, New York, 1830, p. 326.

Malhomines.—Charlevoix (1721), vol. ii, London, 1761, p. 61.

Malhoming.—Bacqueville de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tome ii, Paris, 1753, p. 90.

Malhominis.—Ibid., p. 70.

Malhomins.—La Potherie, op. cit., tome i, p. 206.

Malhominy.—(Cadillac, 1695) Margry, Découvertes, tome v, Paris, 1883, p. 121; La Potherie, op. cit., tome ii, p. 49.

Malhommes.—Jeffreys' Natural and Civil History, op. cit., p. 48.

Malhommis.—(Perrot, 1720) Mémoire sur les Mœurs, coustumes et relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Leipzig and Paris, 1864, p. 127.

Malomenis.—(Frontenac, 1682) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, Albany, 1855, p. 182.

Malomimis.—La Hontan, New Voyages to North America, vol. i, London, 1703, p. 231.

Malomines.—Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, etc, Madrid, 1723, vol. ii, p. 290. (Quotes—erroneously—from La Hontan.)

Malominesc.—Blue Jacket (1807) in Drake, Life of Tecumseh, etc, op. cit., p. 94.

Malominis.—La Hontan, op. cit., p. 104.

Malouin.—Sagard (1615), Histoire du Canada, etc, tome ii, Paris, 1866, p. 424.

Malouminek.—Relations des Jésuites (1658), op. cit., p. 21.

Maloumines.—Warren (1852), Col. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1855, p. 33. (So designated by the French.)

Manomance.—Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, etc, London, 1859, p. 29.

Manomines.—Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, etc, New York, 1809, p. 107.

Maroumine.—Relations des Jésuites (1640), tome i, Quebec, 1858, p. 35.

Mathomenis.—La Potherie, op. cit., tome ii, 1753, p. 70.

Mathominis.—Ibid., p. 81.

Melhomings.—(Croghorn, 1759) Proud, History of Pennsylvania, in North America, etc, vol. ii, Philadelphia, 1797–98, p. 296.

Melomines.—Perkins and Peck, Ann. of the West, St. Louis, 1850, p. 713.

Memonomier.—Vater, Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde, pt. iii, sec. 3, Berlin, 1806–17, p. 106.

Menominies.—(Goldthwait, 1766) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 1st ser., vol. x, Boston, 1809, p. 121.

Menomencs.—(Pike, 1806) Schoolcraft, Inf. Respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 262.

Menomenies.—Brown, Western Gazetteer, Auburn, 1817, p. 265.

Menominees.—(Treaty of 1825) U. S. Ind. Treaties, Washington, D. C., 1837, p. 376.

Menominie.—(Treaty of 1826) U. S. Ind. Treaties, Washington, D. C., 1837, p. 155.

Menominny.—Featherstonhaugh, A Canoe Voyage, etc, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 25.

Menomoee.—Gale, Map of the Upper Mississippi, 1867.

Menomonees.—(Edwards, 1788) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 2d ser., vol. x, Boston, 1823, p. 86.

Menomonei.—McKenney, Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., Washington, D. C., 1825, p. 90.

Menomones.—Long's Narrative of an Expedition to Source of St. Peter's River, vol. ii, London, 1825, p. 171.

Menomonies.—Boudinot, Star in the West, Trenton, 1816, p. 100.

Menomonys.—Lapham, Indians of Wisconsin, map, 1870.

Menonomees.—(La Pointe Treaty, 1842) Col. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1855, p. 494.

Menonomies.—Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, Charleston, 1852, p. 436.

Meynomeys.—(Johnson, London Doc. xxxvi, 1763) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583. (Mentions 110 as belonging to the Ottawa confederacy.)

Meynomineys.—(Johnson, 1761) Ibid., p. 648.

Minoamies.—(James Madison, MS., 1778) Schoolcraft, Inf. respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 560.

Miniamis.—Keane, in Stanford's Compendium, London, 1878, p. 522.

Minominees.—Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians, London, 1861, p. 39.

Minomonees.—(Edwards, 1788) Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 1st ser., vol. ix, Boston, 1801, p. 92.

Minonimies.—(Warren, 1852) Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1885, p. 33.

Minoniones.—Boudinot, Star in the West, Trenton, 1816, p. 107.

Minoomenee.—Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians, London, 1861, p. 178.

Monomins.—Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada, etc, New York, 1809, p. 107.

Monomonees.—Schoolcraft, Inf. respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. v, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 115.

Monomony.—Long, Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter, London, 1791, map.

Monomunies.—(Lindesay, 1719) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vi, Albany, 1855, p. 538.

Moon-calves.—Jeffreys, Natural and Civil History, op. cit., p. 48.

Mynomamies.—Imlay, A Topograph. Descrip. of the Western Territory of North America, London, 1797, p. 292.

Mynomanies.—(Hutchins, 1778) Schoolcraft, Inf. Respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. vi, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 711.

Omanominee.—Father Zephyrin, Prayer Book in Menomoni, St. Louis, 1882.

Omanomini.—Kelton, Annals of Fort Mackinac, Chicago, 1882, p. 149. (So called by the Ojibwa.)

O-mun-o-min-eeg.—(Warren, 1852) Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1885, p. 33.

Oumalominis.—(Prise de Possession, 1671) Margry, Découvertes, tome i, Paris, 1875, p. 97.

Oumaloümiuek.—Relations des Jésuites (1670), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 91.

Oumaloumines.—Relations des Jésuites (1671), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 25.

Oumaloumiuetz.—Relations des Jésuites (1670), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 100.

Oumaominees.—(Du Chesneau, 1681) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 161.

Ounaboims.—(Prise de Possession, 1671) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, op. cit., p. 803

Walhominies.—McKenney and Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, etc, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 79.

White Indians.—Long, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, etc, vol. ii, Philadelphia, 1824, p. 175.

Wild Oats (Nation of the).—Of various authors.

Wild Rice.—(Doc. of 1701) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 722.

Wild Rice Eaters.—Lapham, A Paper on the number . . . of the Indians of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1870, p. 3.

DISCOVERY AND EARLY HISTORY

Although the Jesuits had early penetrated the country west of Lake Michigan, and although La Salle had, in 1682, taken formal possession of the valley of the Mississippi in the name of Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, it was not until 1699 that Lemoine d'Iberville planted the germ whence sprang the colony of Louisiana.[1] Thenceforward various posts were established at remote points, to facilitate intercourse between the outlying missions and settlements and to guard

[1] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. i, Boston, 1886, p. 61.

against invasion along the several waterways. Detroit guarded the approach from Lake Erie; Michilimackinac protected the entrance to Lake Michigan; while the forts at St. Joseph and at the head of Green bay (called La bay) commanded the routes between the lakes and the Mississippi.

Sieur Jean Nicollet arrived on the "Baie des Puants," or Green bay,[1] about the year 1634, although the account of his voyage thither was not recorded by Père Barthelemy Vimont until 1643.

Nicollet's arrival in the land of the Menomini was heralded by some young Winnebago Indians, who had been sent ahead; so that when he landed "this marvelous man" must necessarily have made a profound impression, appearing as he did in a robe of China damask profusely decked with flowers and birds of various colors, and "carrying thunder in his hands." This gaudy display, together with the firing of pistols, caused the terror-stricken women and children to flee. Between 4,000 and 5,000 people partook of the feasts, at one of which, it is recorded, 120 beavers were consumed.[2]

In the notice of the discovery of the Menomini by Nicollet, no accurate information is given as to their geographic position. Père Gabriel Dreuillettes, who enumerated the several tribes located on Green bay, says that the first "nation," or the nearest to the village or town of St. Michel, was called in Algonquian, Onpouteouatimik (Potawatomi), and comprised about 700 men or 3,000 souls, including 100 men of the "Nation of the Petun," or Tobacco nation. The second nation was that of the Noukek, the Ouinipegouek (Winnebago), and the Malouminek (Menomini). These people, located a short distance only from the Potawatomi, gathered a certain reed which grew naturally on their prairies and which was deemed equal to Indian corn. There were also 200 Algonkin, who formerly resided on the rivers and along the northern coast of Lake Huron, but who had here sought refuge.[3]

The enumeration of tribes by Père Dreuillettes continues, placing the Maskotin out on the prairie, distant three days' journey by water; and various southward tribes are enumerated, with extravagant population—for instance, the Alinouek (Illinois), living in 60 villages, were said to number 20,000 men, or in the vicinity of 100,000 souls.

The Noukek of this record were no doubt identical with the Nouquet, or Noquette, who lived on the northern extremity of Green bay on what today is designated the Bay of Noquet. Under this name, also, were the Menomini referred to in some old accounts; but no tribe at present

[1] From the French designation, "la grande baie."

[2] . . . On depescha plusieurs ieunes gens pour aller au deuant du Manitouirinion, c'est à dire de l'homme merueillenx; on y vient, on le conduit, on porte tout son bagage. Il estoit reuestu d'vne grande robe de damas de la Chine, toute parsemée de fleurs et d'oyseaux de diuerses couleurs. Si tost qu'on l'apperceut, toutes les femmes et les enfans s'enfuirent, voyant vn homme porter le tonnerre en ses deux mains (c'est ainsi qu'ils nommient deux pistolets qu'il tenoit). La nouuelle de sa venuë s'espandit incontinent aux lieux circonuoisins: il se fit vne assemblée de quatre ou cinq mille hommes; chacun des principaux fit son festin, en l'vn desquels on seruit au moins six-vingts Castors.—Relations des Jésuites, 1643, pp. 3, 4.

[3] Relation des Jésuites, 1658, p. 21.

existing preserves this designation, the absorption of the group into some other body being probably the cause of the disappearance of the name.

The Fox Indians occupied the valley of Fox river in 1714, when a French expedition under de Louvigny invaded their territory, without result; but their final expulsion from that country occurred in 1746, when their allies, the Sauk tribe, with whom they appear to have had a common origin, were also forced to leave.

The Menomini finally appear to have concentrated about the head of Green bay and along Menomini and Fox rivers, but nothing of interest concerning them is found for some years, though they and other tribes appear to have distinguished themselves at intervals in war expeditions. The Menomini, together with the Ottawa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, and other northwestern tribes, rendered conspicuous service in the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, at Fort du Quesne, where they were led and commanded by Sieur Charles de Langlade. They also participated in the battle before Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. Glode (son of Old Carron), Osanwishkeno (the Yellow Bird), Kachakawasheka (the Notch-maker), and the elder Carron, were present at the fall of Montcalm.[1]

On June 7, 1726, peace was effected between M. de Ligney and the chief of the Fox, Sauk, and Winnebago tribes ("Panns a la Baie"); and to make this peace "certain and stable" it was thought proper to grant to the chief of the first-named tribe his request that a French officer be stationed in that country, to aid him in "restraining his young men from bad thoughts and actions."[2] In consequence of this amicable arrangement a detachment of French troops was sent to garrison La Bay (afterward called Fort Edward Augustus), which post was thenceforward occupied by the French until 1761. This, like many other posts throughout the French possessions, was not strictly of a military character, from the fact that numbers of French settlers had congregated near there for protection; not on account of agricultural pursuits—for such were greatly neglected—but chiefly to establish and maintain traffic with the natives, furs being the chief product desired. These settlers were generally under the government of the commandant. The relations between these French settlers and the natives were undoubtedly of an amiable character, as the general attitude and conduct of the French were rather of a conciliatory nature, whereby their representatives gained unusual confidence and good will among the natives—an attachment which was furthermore strengthened through the frequent selection by the French of Menomini wives.

After the British and colonial forces had attained the conquest of Canada and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, had sur-

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 212–214.

[2] From translation of M. de Ligney's memoir of June 7, 1726, in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 21.

rendered, the victors began to take possession of the western posts. Thus, in 1761, Green bay was governed by a small force of 17 men of the Sixtieth (or Royal American) regiment, in command of Lieutenant Gorrell. This party arrived at Green bay on October 12, at a time of the year when it was customary for the Indians to be off on their annual hunting expedition; so that there was but one family remaining at the post.[1] Lieutenant Gorrell states that he had found in his orders very little regarding the Indians, so that when leaving he applied to Captain Donald Campbell, at Detroit, for further instructions; the latter referred him to Sir William Johnson, then present, who told him orally that unless he did his best to please the Indians he had better not go there.

On account of the absence of the Indians, no council was held with the tribes until May 25, 1762; at this time the chiefs of the Menomini and Winnebago were present and received strings of wampum in return for prisoners. According to Gorrell's journal, the number of Indian warriors dependent on the post was 39,100. The number of Menomini warriors specified is only 150, which would indicate a total population of about 800.

After the peace of 1763, when the French troops were withdrawn and their places filled by the English, discontent among the Indians became apparent, and gradually became more and more hostile and in time developed into a conspiracy for the extermination of the English throughout the entire western frontier. This hostility was due to a variety of circumstances. The French had been the fast friends of the Indians, had been judicious and lavish in the distribution of gifts, and had liberally supplied all who desired arms, ammunition, and clothing, until the tribesmen had almost forgotten their aboriginal modes of living and had become dependent on the garrisons and trading establishments; but with the advent of the English all this was changed, and the penuriousness with which these now necessary articles were dealt out—when they were not entirely withheld—caused great distress and consequent dissatisfaction.[2] Another source of trouble was the immigration of settlers and the occupancy of Indian lands by white men, while suspicion and anger were engendered by false reports carried from place to place by the "coureurs de bois" or bushrangers—degraded itinerants who traversed the forest in search of furs and peltries which they carried to the trading posts, reaping profits which they felt would become greatly reduced should the traders themselves penetrate the wilds. The Indians, becoming alarmed at the rumored advent of the traders, who were said to be exacting and of murderous disposition, made preparations to defend themselves, and finally concluded to take the initiative and, if possible, prevent intrusion by a people who

[1] Gorrell's Journal, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 25 et. seq.

[2] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, Boston, vol. i, 1886, pp. 172 et seq.

were enemies of the French. A short time later, Pontiac made felt his power in the northwest; and although the destruction of many posts and settlements resulted, the French inhabitants were usually spared. In 1673, when the attack on Michilimackinac was planned, some Menomini joined the expedition; and they were present at, although they were not participants in, the massacre.

It had been the plan of Pontiac to capture also the fort at Green Bay, and a band of Indians at Milwaukee, consisting chiefly of Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi, was detailed for the work. But the Menomini Indians were friendly to the English and prevented the attack, and when instructions were received by Lieutenant Gorrell to abandon the post, Carron and his Menomini tribesmen conducted the party to Mackinaw. "For his faithful adherence to the English and rejection of the councils of Pontiac, Carron was subsequently presented with a large silver medal by the British authorities, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good services."[1]

When, in 1761, Sir William Johnson sent messengers to the various tribes of the Great Lakes, calling them to a council to be held at Niagara for the purpose of urging them to remain friendly to the English, a delegation of 499 Menomini went from Green bay,[2] confident of deserving recognition for their services to Gorrell and his band of soldiers. They were received with cordiality and greeted as brothers, and on the adjournment of the council they departed well pleased with their experience.[3]

The English did not again occupy the post on Green bay, and the Menomini did not render service to them until at the outbreak of the Revolution, when a party under Charles de Langlade, in company with another large Indian force, went to Montreal and there held a council. About 1780, Captain Dalton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the United States, in an estimate of the Indian tribes employed by the British in the Revolutionary war, estimated that the Fulawin (Menomini) had furnished about 150 warriors.[4]

Grignon, in his Recollections of Wisconsin,[5] states that "The Green bay settlement, from its inception in 1745 to 1785, a period of forty years, had made but little progress." Carver, who visited the locality in 1766, found that there had been no garrison since its abandonment in 1763, and that the fort had not been kept in repair. There were but two trading establishments in 1785, the only stores at Green Bay prior to 1812.

In 1810 messengers arrived from Tecumseh and the Prophet, inviting the Menomini to join the Indian confederacy against the Americans;

[1] Grignon, In Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. i, 1857, pp. 226–227.

[2] Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. x, Boston, 1809.

[3] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, p. 165 et seq.

[4] Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., vol. x, Boston, 1809, p. 173 (from an account published in Philadelphia, August 5, 1783).

[5] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. i, p. 283.

but they responded in the negative and joined the British in the war of 1812–14. They served under Colonel Robert Dickson, who had arrived at Green Bay with a party of Sioux Indians: for although there was a traditional feeling of hatred by the Sioux against the Menomini and Ojibwa, still, when circumstances demanded union against a common enemy under one standard for attack or defense, all tribal differences were for the time set aside. The party under Dickson participated in the attack on the Americans at Mackinaw, but they were not actively engaged in the battle.

The Winnebago, who may properly be termed the head of the Siouan family, were from the earliest historical times near neighbors of the Menomini and on friendly terms with them and also with the Ojibwa, who until 1795 or later occupied the country as far east as Lake Shawano. The Winnebago warriors occasionally came to Green Bay on a spree, passing through the Menomini and Ojibwa territory on their way. It was because of this constant commingling that representatives of all of these tribes were generally found together in their war excursions.

The expulsion of the Fox and Sauk Indians from the country on Fox river and the head of Green bay (already referred to) is specially mentioned by Jedidiah Morse[1] in his report to the Secretary of War in 1822, in the following words:

> Major Irwin informed me, on the authority of Colonel Bowyer and an old Ottawa chief, living at *Ma-nitou-wauk, the river of bad spirits*, that more than a century ago, the Fox and Sac Indians, who then inhabited the country on Green bay and Fox river, were conquered and driven away by the Menominees, aided by the Ottawas and Chippewas; that the Menominees hold this country by conquest, and that their title is admitted to be good by the Sacs, Foxes, Chippawas, and Ottawas.

This statement no doubt originated from Charlevoix's remarks (1) that the Fox Indians were the original possessors of the land adjoining Fox river, and (2) that their principal settlement was about 60 miles up that river. They had made some depredations on French traders and exacted tribute of them, whereon the French commandant of the post took a party of his men in covered boats and, while distracting the attention of the Indians, opened fire on them at the same time that his Menomini allies attacked the village from the rear. Those who survived the slaughter removed to Mississippi river.

Carver[2] reached Green bay in 1766, and on his map of that date two Menomini settlements are located; the northern one on the western shore of the bay, near the present site of Oconto, while the southern camp or "castle" is on the western bank of Fox river, a short distance south of "Fort la Bay." South of these towns the country is marked as occupied by the Winnebago, while that immediately westward is designated as "Saukies Land."

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[1] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 57.

[2] Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, London, 1778, map.

The traditions relating to the origin of the totems of the Menomini refer to Menominee river (near the mouth) as the place where the Bear emerged from the ground, and also to Wisconsin river as the place of the subsequent meeting of this anthropomorphic being with the Wolf. These streams appear to bound the earliest traditional locality claimed by the Menomini; so, too, other mythic transactions connected with the origin of other totems relate to the same region. Further information on this subject will be found in connection with the description of the Menomini totems.

TREATIES WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Menomini had been in the service of the British in past years, and as the war of 1812–14 found them still true to their old allies, it became necessary to establish a treaty of peace between the United States and the tribe. So commissioners were duly appointed on behalf of the Federal Government, and after conference with the headmen of the tribe the following was adopted March 30, 1817.[1]

A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded by and between William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners on the part and behalf of the United States of America, of the one part, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, deputed by the Monomenee tribe or nation of Indians, on the part and behalf of their said tribe or nation, of the other part.

The parties, being desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said tribe or nation, and of being placed in all things, and in every respect, on the same footing upon which they stood before the late war, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. Every injury, or act of hostility, by one or either of the contracting parties, against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgot.

Art. 2. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States and all the individuals composing the said Menomenee tribe or nation.

Art. 3. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, on the part and behalf of their said tribe or nation, do, by these presents, confirm to the United States all and every cession of land heretofore made by their tribe or nation to the British, French, or Spanish government, within the limits of the United States, or their territories; and also, all and every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore concluded between the said United States and the said tribe or nation.

Art. 4. The contracting parties do hereby agree, promise and oblige themselves, reciprocally, to deliver up all prisoners now in their hands, (by what means soever the same may have come into their possession,) to the officer commanding at Prairie du Chien, to be by him restored to the respective parties hereto, as soon as it may be practicable.

Art. 5. The undersigned chiefs and warriors as aforesaid, for themselves and those they represent, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign, whatsoever.

In witness whereof, the commissioners aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

[1] Treaties between the United States of America and the eral Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837, Washington, D. C., 1837, pp. 205, 206.

hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States the forty-first.

William Clark,	L. S.
Ninian Edwards,	L. S.
Auguste Chouteau,	L. S.
Towanapee, Roaring Thunder, his x mark,	L. S.
Weekay, the Calumet Eagle, his x mark,	L. S.
Muequomota, the Fat of the Bear, his x mark,	L. S.
Waeaquon, or Shomin, his x mark,	L. S.
Warbano, the Dawn, his x mark,	L. S.
Inemikee, Thunderer, his x mark,	L. S.
Lebarnaco, the Bear, his x mark,	L. S.
Karkundego, his x mark,	L. S.
Shashamanee, the Elk, his x mark,	L. S.
Penoname, the Running Wolf, his x mark,	L. S.

Done at St. Louis, in the presence of

R. Wash, *Secretary to the Commissioners*,	S. Gantt, *Lieut. U. S. Army*,
R. Graham, *U. S. I. A. for Illinois Territory*,	C. M. Price,
T. Harrison,	Richard T. McKenney,
Nimrod H. Moore,	Amos Kibbe,
	Nathaniel Mills,
	Samuel Solomon.

Dr Morse, who made an official visit to Green bay in 1820, says:

The Menomonees claim the whole of the waters of Green-Bay, with its islands. On its north-west shores, and on Fox river, they claim from the entrance of Menomine river, in length, one hundred and twenty miles, south-west and north-east; and in breadth sixty miles. On the south-east shore of the Bay, and on Fox river, from the river Rouge, on Red river, to the Grand Cockalaw, a distance of forty-five miles, and twenty-four in breadth.[1]

Roughly estimated, this area would embrace over 8,000 square miles.

The true extent of the territory claimed by the Menomini, or recognized as theirs by the surrounding tribes, is not positively known; though the assertion has been made that the western boundary was Mississippi river. The Winnebago, who had always been friendly with the Menomini, were no doubt coclaimants to at least a portion of the lands in the eastern or Green bay section, as may be inferred from the fact of their being a party to the treaties of relinquishment.

To make intelligible the reason for the sale by these Indians of some of their lands, it is necessary to present a short sketch of the Holland Land Company of New York, which had for many years held a preemptive right of purchase from the Indians, covering most of the lands of western New York, this right having originated through the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and having been confirmed subsequently by the state of New York. A large purchase was made from the Indians by Phelps and Gorman, embracing nearly all the lands east of Genesee river. Of the remaining portion, lying west of the river, a large cession was made to the Holland Land Company at a council of the Seneca Indians held in Geneseo in September, 1797, certain large reservations of choice land being excepted.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

General Albert G. Ellis,[1] in his "Account of the advent of the New York Indians into Wisconsin," says:

In 1810, the Holland Land Company sold all their pre-emptive right to the Indian reservations to David A. Ogden, for fifty cents per acre. Mr. Ogden and his associates in this purchase were afterward known as the "Ogden Company." Up to 1817, they had succeeded in extinguishing but a part of the Indian title; the large reservations of Cattaraugus, Alleghany, Tonnewanda, Tuscarora, and Buffalo, still remaining. The anxiety of the company to effect the extinguishment of the Indian title to these reservations, and the removal of the Indians, had exhibited itself in various forms, and sundry unsuccessful efforts, for years. In this year, a new plan was conceived, and its accomplishment set on foot, to wit:—to secure in the West, by consent and aid of the General Government, an extensive grant of lands from the western tribes, as a home or hunting ground for the several tribes holding the reservations in Western New York. This plan was pondered with great care, thoroughly matured, decided and acted upon by the Ogden company, with equal skill and vigor. One of the first steps, was to secure the consent and co-operation of the War Department, which was obtained.

A band of Indians, known as the Stockbridges—more properly the Mo-he-kun-nucks—had moved from Massachusetts at an early day, having obtained a cession of some five by seven miles square from the Oneidas, on the southern border of their reservation, in the county of Oneida, N. Y. The Mo-he-kun-nucks sold off a small tract on their southern border, to a few associated Indians from the remnants of various bands of New England tribes, now known as the *Brothertowns*. These two tribes had resided for several years on their new possessions near the Oneidas.

About the year 1817, a young leader, chief of the Mo-he-kun-nucks, Solomon U. Hendrick, a man of much more than ordinary energy and talent among the Indians, succeeded to the head of affairs. He regarded the languishing condition of his people as a reproach to the former name and glory of the old Mo-he-kun-nucks, and used all his eloquence to persuade the young men to arouse, and make at least one effort to retrieve their name and character. He argued, with equal force and sound reason, that their then paralyzed condition was owing to their confinement to a small space of ground, and being surrounded and preyed upon, by the white inhabitants, from whose pernicious contact and example, especially with regard to drunkenness, they were sustaining a loss of all moral and physical energy and action; and urged, that their only hope for the future lay in *emigration westward*, and the securing of such an extent of country, as would enable them to form new settlements, at such distance from the whites, as to escape from grog-shops and whiskey.

Their resident missionary, Rev. John Sergeant, fell in with and seconded the views of the young chief. In a short time the whole tribe was indoctrinated with the new scheme, and anxious for its consummation. The American Board of Missions gave their influence and aid; through whose suggestions the late Dr. Jedediah [*sic*] Morse, of New Haven, became deeply interested in the plan. This gentleman counselled the Indians and their friends to take immediate measures to have a visit paid, by some discreet agents, to the Western tribes, to select a proper point for location, and open negotiations for a cession of lands. Dr. Morse himself was thought to be the very person to undertake such a mission. Application being made to the Secretary of War, Dr. Morse was commissioned to make a general tour among the North-Western Indians, with a view to forming a better understanding between those tribes and the Government. Under this appointment, this gentleman spent the summer of 1820 in visiting several of the North-Western tribes. Whatever other purposes may have occupied the attention of this commissioner, it is certain that of securing a western retreat for the Stockbridges and other New York Indian tribes was a leading one; though the writer has no evidence of any collusion in the matter, at this date, with the Ogden Land Company. Green Bay was a point specially visited by Dr.

[1] Rep. and Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. ii, Madison, 1856, pp. 415–417.

Morse, where he spent nearly three weeks, and preached the first protestant sermon ever delivered at that place.

During the year 1816–17 a remarkable personage appeared among the Oneida Indians; this was no other than Eleazer Williams, a descendant of Reverend John Williams, of Deerfield memory, but who claimed to be the Dauphin of France—Louis XVII. General Ellis[1] says of him:

In the summer of 1816, he made a tour in the State of New York, among the several tribes of the Six Nations. The Oneidas received him with kindness and attention. They were more inclined to civilization, and a party of them to christianity, than any other tribe of the Six Nations.

Whether Mr. Williams borrowed the idea from Dr. Morse, the Mo-he-kun-nucks, or the Ogden Land Company, or whether it was, as he stoutly maintained, original in his own mind, certain it is, that some time in 1818, he began to broach cautiously among his Indian people a proposition of removing all the Indians of that State, as well as many of those of Canada, and the Senecas at Sandusky, to the neighborhood of Green Bay, and there unite them in one grand confederacy of cantons, but all under one federal head; the government to be a mixture of civil, military, and ecclesiastic, the latter to be pre eminent. . . .

Having secured this point among the Oneidas, he visited the other tribes of the Six Nations, and by holding out dazzling promises of future glory and aggrandizement, he enticed a few young men of each tribe to enter into his scheme. He next addressed the War Department, in imitation of the Stockbridges, soliciting its countenance and assistance to enable a delegation of twenty from the several tribes of the Six Nations to visit the Western tribes, for the purpose of obtaining a cession of country for a new home. The response of the Department was favorable, having doubtless been influenced by other parties moving for the same objects.

Thus, it is to be observed, that whether singular or not, there was a combination of influences, dissimilar in motive but perfectly consonant in purpose, all operating at the same moment in urging a removal of the New York Indians to Green Bay. Each one of the parties claimed the eclat of originating the scheme: we incline to the belief, however, that they all, the Land Company, the Mo-he-kun-nucks and Mr. Williams, might, and probably did conceive, at pretty near the same period of time, the idea of a new home for these Indians in the West.

The late Honorable Lyman C. Draper,[2] formerly secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, referring to this subject, says:

Rev. Eleazer Williams, with a deputation of the Oneidas, first visited the Green Bay region with a view of finding a new home, in the summer of 1820. Reporting favorably, in August, 1821, Williams again repaired to Green Bay, himself as the deputy of the St. Regis Indians, accompanied by a delegation of Oneidas, Stockbridges, Onondagoes, Senecas, and Munsees, who made a treaty with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and purchased a considerable territory from them. In September, 1822, this territory was largely increased by an additional purchase. The New York Indians emigrated from time to time in bands, and settled on their purchase.

There has recently been called to my attention an editorial notice of Eleazar Williams, in The Nation (N. Y.) for May 31, 1894, which elicited a communication to the same periodical for June 14, 1894. After a few preliminary remarks, the letter continues:

As early as 1810, Eleazar Williams called himself "Count de Lorraine" and wore a large tinsel star. My grandfather was acquainted with the man and fully

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 418, 419.

[2] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 68, footnote.

impressed with his ignorance and pretence. The subsequent developments of his fiction brought him to the notice of the family, and it was with this knowledge that my father, Dr. Williams of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, happened to be in Caughnawaga when those of the tribe who knew of the childhood of Eleazar were questioned regarding his origin. Dr. Williams was then locating and laying the railroad through the Indian reservation, and was not only intimately acquainted with Oronhiatekha (De Lorimier), the head chief, with Tamake (Jean Baptiste Rice, better known as "Grand Baptiste"), the pilot of the Lachine rapids, and other subordinate chiefs, but was adopted by the tribe, and is still remembered by the older members as "Raristeseres."

In the fall of 1851 two gentlemen came to Caughnawaga to investigate the story of Eleazar Williams. It was on a Sunday afternoon that De Lorimier summoned the mother of Eleazar, Mary Ann Rice (Kanontewanteta), and an old man and woman who were with the parents at the time of his birth, as well as others who could tell of his youth. It may be well to say here that Eleazar was in bad odor with the tribe. This fact has been made much of by the upholders of the French origin, and has been stated by them as due to the lapse of the man from the Romish faith, and an attempt to avenge on him the slighted creed. The real facts are that the Romish Church, if it had any feeling in the matter, rejoiced in getting rid of a black sheep, as Eleazar had made his tribe the victims of a favorite habit of his—the collection of money for a specific purpose, and its immediate conversion to his own use.

All the persons gathered on that Sunday afternoon knew of the character of the man, and that was all. They were then entirely ignorant of his pretensions, and spoke only Iroquois and a French *patois*. They were taken singly into the room where they were to be questioned, and a Scotchman named McNab, who was a notary and greatly trusted by the Indians, acted as interrogator and interpreter. The old woman first told how she was present at the birth of Eleazar, and that he was the son of Mary Ann (Rice) Williams, and that the birth took place at Lake George, New York, where the party had gone on a fishing excursion. It was immediately after the Revolution. The old man followed and said that the birth took place as stated, and he further told how Eleazar had fallen from high rocks when a boy and received injuries to his legs and knees that had left scars. The mother then told her story in corroboration of what had been told. After all the testimony had been taken, there was no one present but felt that Eleazar Williams was an Indian. Mr. McNab then translated to them the printed account of the pretended French origin of the man. It made the mother cry, and she said that she knew that Eleazar had done many bad things, but she did not think he would deny his own mother. The matter was talked over by the tribe, and they did not hesitate to call him a liar. The peculiar (?) Bourbon features of Eleazar were possessed by De Lorimier, Francis Mount—by all, in fact, who were descended from white captives.

Father Marcoux stated to my father that the early mission records were very incomplete, and, in general, those children born outside of the mission had no place on the record. This seems to cover the whole case.—*Edward H. Williams, jr., Brentwarth, June 4, 1894.*

Returning to a period before the consummation of the treaty of 1821, another phase of the subject may be noted. General Ellis continues:

The Menomonees and Winnebagoes having been apprised of the intended visit of their *grandfathers*, the *Not-to-ways*, but a few days delay occurred before they appeared on the bank of Fox river, to meet their eastern brethren. The reception of the delegates was cordial by the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and had there not been a third party to interfere, the New York Indians would probably very soon have accomplished their object. The French inhabitants and half breeds settled at Green Bay, numbered about five hundred souls; their alliance with the Indians, particularly the Menomonees, was very close, and their influence with them very strong,

almost potential. Some of the more shrewd among them very soon penetrated the ambitious design of Williams, which was no less than a total subjugation of the whole country, and the establishment of an Indian government, of which he was to be the sole dictator. The French and traders immediately organized into an opposition to the whole programme of the delegates. They were familiar with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, present at their debates, counselled and advised with them in their deliberations, and when the answer of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes was given, it was a deliberate and decided refusal to cede them an inch of soil west of Lake Michigan. It was plain to all, that the French and half breeds had answered, and not the Indians. The delegates expressed as much in their reply and affectionately requested their brothers to re-consider the matter, and answer for themselves, independent of the French and half breeds.

Several days were spent by both parties in out-door discussions. The French and half breed interest, finding their position not safely tenable, counselled a kind of compromise, which being adopted, resulted in proposing a cession to their eastern brethren, the Not-ta-ways, of a strip of land five miles in width, running across the Fox river at Little Chute as a centre, and thence to the north-west and south-east, equi-distant with their claims or possessions. In offering this cession to the delegates as their ultimatum, these tribes urged their limited possessions, the poverty of their hunting grounds, and their inability in consequence to subsist their people! The possessions of the Menemonees then reached from the mouth of Green Bay to the Milwaukee River, North and South, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, South-east and North-west. Those of the Winnebagoes included all the remainder of what is now known as southern Wisconsin, except the inconsiderable tract west of Sugar River, claimed by the Sauks and Foxes. They were very much crowded, of course! The delegates saw that the object was, by placing them on a great thoroughfare, the Fox River, between these two tribes, to establish such a surveillance over them as effectually to prevent any design or movement the New York Indians might ever attempt, contrary to the wishes or interests of the grantees, or the French inhabitants. After much deliberation, and a good deal of hesitation, it was concluded on the advice chiefly of Hendrick, the Mo-he-kun-nuck chief, to accept the grant. A treaty was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Trowbridge, and signed by the parties on the 18th of August, and witnessed by the citizens and U. S. officers at the post. Five hundred dollars were paid the Menomonees and Winnebagoes at the time, and fifteen hundred dollars stipulated to be paid in goods the following year, in full for the cession.

* * * * * * *

In about ten days the Menomonees and Winnebagoes assembled to greet their new friends the *Not-ta-ways*, as they called the New York Indians, and to receive the $1,500 payment, in goods, on the cession of 1821. Such an assemblage of wild Indians, young and old, women and papooses, was seldom seen. Of the two tribes, there could not have been less than five thousand souls, besides the New Yorkers, the French, half breeds, and Americans. The best specimen of Indian character, and especially of a war dance, ever seen by the writer, was there given for several days. The Winnebagoes, of that day at least, exhibited the largest, most perfectly formed set of both men and women, almost ever seen anywhere. The great display of action and muscle in these dances, struck the beholder with admiration and terror. The ring round the dancers contained several thousand, all singing in chorus to the lead of the chief drummer; the voices of the Winnebago women prevailing in clarion tones above the whole.

The payment of the fifteen hundred dollars worth of goods, was made with as much ceremony as possible by the delegates, accompanied by a set speech setting forth the great advantages that would be derived to their western brethren by their settling among them. After the payment and the proper receipts of acknowledgment on the treaties, followed feasting, dancing, and a general hilarity for two days. The delegates then invited the Menomonees and Winnebagoes to a formal council, and renewed the effort for a further extension of territory. Every argument

and a most liberal offer in the shape of annuities for ten years, were proposed in vain. The Winnebagoes gave the answer, stoutly refusing further negotiations. That tribe soon left in a body to repair to their hunts. The Menomonees lingered, and were again got into council with the delegates, which conference continued for several days, and finally resulted in the great transaction which gave the New York Indians the foothold on Fox River, which they have in part maintained to this day. The Menomonees, for a trifling consideration, ceded to the New York Indians a *right in common* to the whole of their lands. Although some two of the principal chiefs were not present to join in this important cession, this treaty, as well as the one of the previous year, were approved by the President, and the New York Indians thereby recognized as joint owners with the Menomonees of all their immense territories comprising nearly half of the State of Wisconsin.[1]

The several tribes of the New York Indians now hoped to be able to occupy, without further hindrance or trouble, their new homes, jointly with the Menomonees; but subsequent events proved their wishes but half attained. The whites and traders at Green Bay saw that the Menomonees had been grossly over-reached by their new friends, the New York Indians, in a bargain. They very soon showed that tribe, that in making the *Not-ta-ways* equal owners with them in their country, they could no longer control their own affairs, especially in the great business of treating with their great Father; that the New York Indians, if their treaties were to stand, would, in a short time, out-general them in tactics, and probably in numbers, and put them completely in the back ground in all public matters. The arguments had their effect, and in a short time the Menomonees repented of the bargain, and sought means to invalidate the treaties. The same ingenuity which had helped them to a dislike found a ready pretext for denying and repudiating the treaties, especially the last one. It was said, that at the treaty of 1822, several of the chiefs highest in authority were not present, which, being true, gave the tribe a good reason for denying and with-holding sanction to the arrangement. As usual in such cases, the Menomonees separated into two parties, the one adhering to the treaties and the interest of the New York Indians, the other denying them and resisting their rights to any part of the country. The adverse party had the support of all the trading interest, together with most of the half breeds, and soon became the strongest, both in point of influence and numbers.

[1] This treaty or purchase included all the country, beginning at the Grand Kakalin, on Fox River, thence east on the lower line of the purchase of the New York Indians of the preceding year, to or equi-distant with the Man-a-wah-ki-ah (Milwaukee) river; thence down said river to its mouth; thence northerly, on the borders of Lake Michigan, to and across the mouth of Green Bay, so as to include all the islands of the Grand Traverse; thence from the mouth of Green Bay northerly, to the Bay de Noque, on Lake Michigan; thence a westerly course, on the height of land separating the waters of Lake Superior and Michigan, to the head of the Menomonee river; thence continuing nearly the same course until it strikes the north-eastern boundary line of the land purchased by the New York Indians the year preceding, and thence south-easterly to the place of beginning. This appears to have been a complete cession of "all the right, title, interest, and claim" of the Menomonees, to the country described, reserving, however, "the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands herein ceded, in common with them—the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis and Munsee nations; *Provided nevertheless*, That they, the Menomonee nation, shall not in any manner infringe upon any settlements or improvements whatever, which may be in any manner made by the said Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, or Munsee nations." The consideration was one thousand dollars in goods to be paid in hand, and one thousand dollars more in goods the next year, and a similar amount the year following. This treaty was concluded September 23d, 1822. But President Monroe did not approve, to its full extent, this purchase: his approval, bearing date March 13th, 1823, is thus qualified: "The aforegoing instrument is approved so far as it conveys to the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, and Munsee tribes or nations of Indians, that portion of the country therein described, which lies between Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Fox River, that part of the former purchase made by said tribes or nations of Indians of the Menomonee and Winnebago Indians, on the 8th of August, 1821, which lies south of Fox River, and a line drawn from the south-eastern extremity of said purchase to the head of Sturgeon Bay, and no further; that quantity being deemed sufficient for the use of the first before-mentioned tribes or nations of Indians." This treaty, and that of the preceding year, may be found in full, appended to the address of Hon. Morgan L. Martin before the Wisconsin State Historical Society, January 21, 1851.

* * * * * * *

The dissatisfaction among some of the Menomini respecting these treaties increased with time, and things were extremely discouraging for the success of Williams' plans and the views of the Ogden Company, until the year 1827, when the following treaty was made, viz:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at the Butte des Morts, on Fox river, in the Territory of Michigan, between Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Chippeway, Menomonie, and Winnebago tribes of Indians.

Art. 1. Whereas, the southern boundary of the Chippeway country, from the Plover Portage of the Ouisconsin easterly, was left undefined by the treaty concluded at Prairie du Chien, August 19, 1825, in consequence of the non-attendance of some of the principal Menomonie chiefs; and, whereas, it was provided by the said treaty, that, whenever the President of the United States might think proper, such of the tribes, parties to the said treaty, as might be interested in any particular line, should be convened, in order to agree upon its establishment:

Therefore, in pursuance of the said provision, it is agreed between the Chippeways, Menomonies, and Winnebagoes, that the southern boundary of the Chippeway country shall run as follows, namely: From the Plover Portage of the Ouisconsin, on a northeasterly course, to a point on Wolf river, equidistant from the Ashawano and Post lakes of said river; thence, to the falls of the Pashaytig river of Green Bay; thence, to the junction of the Neesau Kootag or Burnt-wood river, with the Menomonie; thence, to the big island of the Shoskinanbic or Smooth Rock river; thence, following the channel of the said river to Green Bay, which it strikes between the little and the great Bay de Noquet.

Art. 2. Much difficulty having arisen from the negotiations between the Menomonie and Winnebago tribes and the various tribes and portions of tribes of Indians of the State of New York, and the claims of the respective parties being much contested, as well with relation to the tenure and boundaries of the two tracts, claimed by the said New York Indians, west of lake Michigan, as to the authority of the persons who signed the agreement on the part of the Menomonies, and the whole subject having been fully examined at the council this day concluded, and the allegations, proofs, and statements, of the respective parties having been entered upon the journal of the commissioners, so that the same can be decided by the President of the United States; it is agreed by the Menomonies and Winnebagoes, that so far as respects their interest in the premises, the whole matter shall be referred to the President of the United States, whose decision shall be final. And the President is authorized, on their parts, to establish such boundaries between them and the New York Indians as he may consider equitable and just.

Art. 3. It being important to the settlement of Green Bay, that definite boundaries should be established between the tract claimed by the former French and British governments, and the lands of the Indians, as well to avoid future disputes as to settle the question of jurisdiction. It is therefore agreed between the Menomonie tribe and the United States, that the boundaries of the said tracts, the jurisdiction and title of which are hereby acknowledged to be in the United States, shall be as follows, namely:—Beginning on the shore of Green Bay, six miles due north from the parallel of the mouth of Fox river, and running thence in a straight line, but with the general course of the said river, and six miles therefrom to the intersection of the continuation of the westerly boundary of the tract at the Grand Kaukaulin, claimed by Augustin Grignion; thence, on a line with the said boundary to the same; thence, with the same to Fox river; thence, on the same course, six miles; thence, in a direct line to the southwestern boundary of the tract, marked on the plan of the claims at Green Bay, as the settlement at the bottom of the bay; thence, with the southerly boundary of the said tract to the southeasterly corner thereof; and thence with the easterly boundary of the said tract to Green Bay. Provided, that if the President of the United States should be of opinion that the boundaries

thus established interfere with any just claims of the New York Indians, the President may then change the said boundaries in any manner he may think proper, so that the quantity of land contained in the said tract be not greater than by the boundaries herein defined. And provided also, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to have any effect upon the land claims at Green bay; but the same shall remain as though this treaty had not been formed.

Art. 4. In consideration of the liberal establishment of the boundaries as herein provided for, the commissioners of the United States have this day caused to be distributed among the Indians, goods to the amount of fifteen thousand six hundred and eighty-two dollars, payment for which shall be made by the United States.

Art. 5. The sum of one thousand dollars shall be annually appropriated for the term of three years; and the sum of fifteen hundred dollars shall be annually thereafter appropriated as long as Congress think proper, for the education of the children of the tribes, parties hereto, and of the New York Indians, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States.

Art. 6. The United States shall be at liberty, notwithstanding the Winnebagoes are parties to this treaty, to pursue such measures as they may think proper for the punishment of the perpetrators of the recent outrages at Prairie du Chien, and upon the Mississippi, and for the prevention of such acts hereafter.

Art. 7. This treaty shall be obligatory after its ratification by the President and the Senate of the United States.

Done at the Butte des Mortes, on Fox river, in the Territory of Michigan, this eleventh day of August, 1827.

Lewis Cass,
Thomas L. McKenney.

Chippeways.

Shingnaba Wossin, his x mark,
Wayishkee, his x mark,
Sheewanbeketoan, his x mark,
Mozobodo, his x mark,
Gitshee Waubezhaas, his x mark,
Moazonince, his x mark,
Mishaukewett, his x mark,
Monominee Cashee, his x mark,
Attikumaag, his x mark,
Umbwaygeezhig, his x mark,
Moneeto Penaysee, his x mark,
Akkeewaysee, his x mark,
Sheegad, his x mark,
Wauwaunishkau, his x mark,
Anamikee Waba, his x mark,
Ockewazee, his x mark.

Menomonies.

Oskashe, his x mark,
Josette Caron, his x mark,
Kominikey, jun. his x mark,
Kiniown, his x mark,
Kominikey, sen. his x mark,
Keshiminey, his x mark,
Woiniss-atte, his x mark,
Powoiysnoit, his x mark,
Manbasseaux, his x mark,
Myanmechetnahewat, his x mark,
Penabeme, his x mark,
Kegisse, his x mark,
L'Espagnol, his x mark,
Kichiaemtort, his x mark,
Hoo Tshoop, (or four legs,) his x mark,
Tshayro-tshoan Kaw, his x mark,
Karry-Man-nee, (walking turtle,) his x mark,
San-say-man-nee, his x mark,
Maunk-hay-raith, (tattood breast,) his x mark,
Shoank Skaw, (white dog,) his x mark,
Shoank-tshunksiap, (black wolf,) his x mark,
Kaw-Kaw-say-kaw, his x mark,
Wheank-Kaw, (big duck,) his x mark,
Shoank-ay-paw-kaw, (dog head,) his x mark,
Sar-ray-num-nee, (walking mat,) his x mark,
Waunk-tshay-hee-sootsh, (red devil,) his x mark,
Wau-kaun-hoa-noa-nick, (little snake,) his x mark,
Kaw-nee-shaw, (white crow,) his x mark.

Witnesses:

Philip B. Key, *Secretary,*
E. Boardman, *Captain 2d U. S. Infantry,*
Henry R. Schoolcraft, *U. States Indian Agent,*
Henry B. Brevoort, *U. S. I. Agt.,*

Thomas Rowland,
D. G. Jones,
R. A. Forsyth,
S. Conant,
E. A. Brush,
Jn. Bpt. Fcois Fauvel, *Clergyman*,
Jesse Miner,
Henry Conner, *Interpreter*.
John Kinzie, Jun.[1]

NOTE.—The above treaty was ratified with the proviso, "That the said treaty shall not impair or affect any right or claim which the New York Indians, or any of them, have to the lands, or any of the lands, mentioned in the said treaty."

The action of the United States Senate, in its ratification of this treaty, known as the "Treaty of Butte des Morts," failed to bring about a satisfactory condition of affairs, and new commissioners were appointed in 1830 to endeavor to bring about a satisfactory conclusion of the matter. The leading Menomini were inflexible, stating that their chief men had not been consulted in the previous treaties, unauthorized or uninfluential Indians assuming such authority without any right thereto. The expression of opposition was that the New York Indians were simply regarded as tenants at will and in no sense considered as owners or controllers of the soil.

The commission failed to effect anything, and it was not until 1831 that the treaty, since familiarly known as the Stambaugh treaty, was definitely concluded, and signed by the parties. Mr Ellis[2] remarks:

The New York Indians were not parties to the treaty. In order to a proper understanding of the subject, it is necessary to make copious extracts. The treaty sets forth the boundaries as claimed by the Menomonees, taking all the lands east of Fox River, Green Bay, and Lake Winnebago, and from Fond du Lac south-easterly to the sources of the Milwaukee River, and down the same to its mouth—this tract was ceded to the United States. They claimed westerly and north-westerly, everything west of Green Bay from the Shoskonabie (Es-co-na-ba) River to the upper forks of the Menomonee, thence to Plover Portage of the Wisconsin, and thence up that river to Soft Maple River; west to Plume River of the Chippewa, thence down the Chippewa 30 miles; thence easterly to the fork of the Monoy or Lemonweir River, and down that river to its mouth; thence to the Wisconsin Portage, thence down the Fox to Lake Winnebago.

The first article of the treaty relates exclusively to the New York Indians, and is in the following words: The Menomonee tribe of Indians declare themselves the friends and allies of the United States, under whose parental care and protection they desire to continue; and though always protesting that they are under no obligation to recognize any claim of the New York Indians to any portion of their country; that they neither sold, nor received any value, for the land claimed by these tribes; yet, at the solicitation of their Great Father, the President of the United States, and as an evidence of their love and veneration for him, they agree that such part of the land described, being within the following boundaries, as he may direct, may be set apart as a home to the several tribes of the New York Indians, who may remove to, and settle upon the same, within three years from the date of this agreement, viz.: Beginning on the west side of Fox River, near the "Little Kaekalin," at a point known as the "Old Mill Dam," thence north-west forty miles; thence north-east to the Oconto creek, falling into Green Bay; thence down said Oconto creek to Green Bay; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning; excluding there-

[1] Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837, Washington, 1837, pp. 412–415.

[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 435, 436.

from all private claims confirmed, and also the following reservation for military purposes: Beginning on the Fox River, at the mouth of the first creek above Fort Howard, thence north sixty-four degrees west to Duck Creek; thence down said Duck Creek to its mouth; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning. The Menomonee Indians also reserve, for the use of the U. States, from the country herein designated for the New York Indians, timber and firewood for the United States garrison, and as much land as may be deemed necessary for public highways to be located by the direction and at the discretion of the President of the United States. The country hereby ceded to the United States, for the benefit of the New York Indians, contains by estimation, about five hundred thousand acres, and includes all their improvements on the west side of Fox River.

In consequence of this treaty the hopes of Eleazer Williams were crushed, and those of the Ogden Land Company were not encouraged. The land set apart for the New York Indians was evidently too limited for agricultural purposes. Colonel Stambaugh feared that his treaty would not be adopted by the Senate, and also that his appointment as Indian agent—which had not yet been acted upon—would not be confirmed; so he again had the Menomini called before the commissioners and some supplements made to the treaty, by which two of the most objectionable features were remedied. The Senate refused to take up the treaty at the ensuing session, and it was not till 1832 that it was in shape for promulgation. Even then the Menomini opposed the plan of the New York Indians to put a fort on the land south of the Little Kakalin, and their assent was necessary, so that an amicable settlement was not reached till 1832.

In 1838 another treaty was made between the Oneida Indians and the United States regarding some money which they wanted, as sole representatives of the large cession of the treaty of 1831, by the Menomini on the western side of Fox river. The following extracts will serve to indicate the chief points upon which the Oneida were advised, by their missionary, to base their claim, viz:

Art. 1. The First Christian and Orchard parties of Indians, cede to the United States all their title and interest in the land set apart for them in the first article of the treaty with the Menomonees, of February 8th, 1831, and the second article of the treaty with the same tribe, October 27th, 1832.

Art. 2. From the foregoing cession there shall be reserved to the said Indians, to be held as other Indian lands are held, a tract of land containing one hundred acres, for each individual, and the lines shall be so run as to include all their settlements and improvements in the vicinity of Green Bay.

Art. 3. In consideration of the cession contained in the first article of this treaty, the United States agree to pay to the Orchard party of the Oneida Indians three thousand dollars, and to the First Christian party of Oneida Indians thirty thousand and five hundred dollars, of which last sum three thousand dollars may be expended, under the supervision of the Rev. Solomon Davis, in the erection of a church and parsonage house, and the residue apportioned, under the direction of the President, among the persons having just claims thereto; it being understood that said aggregate sum of thirty thousand and five hundred dollars is designed to be in reimbursement of monies expended by said Indians, and in remuneration of the services of their chiefs and agents, in purchasing and securing a title to the

land ceded in the 1st article. The United States further agree, to cause the tracts reserved in the 2nd article, to be surveyed as soon as practicable.

There are several other articles to this treaty, but they are unimportant and are therefore omitted. The treaty was ratified by the Senate and promulgated on May 17, 1838, and by it the possessions of the Six Nations in Wisconsin were reduced to the present reservation of the Oneida on Duck creek, near Green bay, containing about 61,000 acres.

By a treaty made October 18, 1848, between the United States and the Menomini Indians, the latter agreed to cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States "all their lands in the State of Wisconsin, wherever situated." For this they were to receive certain lands ceded to the United States by the Ojibwa Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Superior in the treaty of August 2, 1847, as well as some other lands ceded (and not yet assigned) to the Winnebago, land which was guaranteed to comprise not less than 600,000 acres. There was also a money consideration. This treaty was ratified January 23, 1849. Another treaty supplemental to this was made May 12, 1854, because of the desire of the Menomini to remain in the state of Wisconsin, and their special unwillingness to remove to the Ojibwa country west of Mississippi river which had been assigned them. Consequently, all lands which had been granted to them by the treaty of 1848 were relinquished, and in consideration thereof the United States gave them "for a home, to be held as Indian lands are held, that tract of country lying upon the Wolf river in the State of Wisconsin, commencing at the southwest corner of township 28 north, of range 16 east, of the fourth principal meridian, running west twenty-four miles, thence north eighteen miles, thence east twenty-four miles, thence south eighteen miles, to the place of beginning, the same being townships 28, 29, and 30, of ranges 13, 14, 15, and 16, according to the public surveys." This treaty was assented to by Osh'kosh and Keshena, and was proclaimed August 2, 1854.

On February 11, 1856, another treaty was made by which the Menomini ceded to the United States a tract of land, not exceeding two townships in extent, and selected from the western part of their reservation, for the purpose of giving a reservation to the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians. This treaty was proclaimed April 24, 1856.

PRESENT LOCATION

Under the treaties with the United States, the Oneida, the Stockbridge and Munsee, and the Menomini have each their respective reservations. The Oneida, numbering over 1,200, have a reservation of 60,800 acres near Green bay; the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, numbering about 250, occupy a reservation southwest of the Menomini, containing 60,800 acres, while the Menomini are located on a reservation of ten townships, equal in round numbers to 360 square miles or

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1855, vol. ii, 1856, p. 447.

230,400 acres.[1] The reservation is located in the northeastern interior of the state of Wisconsin. The tract embraced within its limits is well wooded and is filled with lakes and rivers, affording an abundance of game and fish (see plate I).

The Indians removed to their present home in October, 1852, most of them ascending Wolf river in canoes; yet today a canoe is looked upon by them with as much interest and curiosity as it would be in an eastern city, so rarely is one found.

By an act of Congress of February 13, 1871, provision was made for the sale of a portion of the Menomini reservation, but as the consent of the Indians was not obtained, no portion of their lands have yet been disposed of.[2]

POPULATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1892, the "whole number of Menomini reported on the reservation is 1,335, with 343 children of school age." To this should be added about 300 representatives of the tribe scattered throughout the country east of the reservation, at Oconto, Menomonee, and several other places. This would raise the aggregate population to 1,635, which corresponds with the number estimated during the summer of 1893.

But little is known of the early population of the Menomini tribe, inasmuch as in most instances reference is made to villages, or simply to the warriors. If an estimate is to be based on the number of fighting men, various processes may be adopted to determine the approximate population of the entire tribe.

In the Paris documents of 1718, number VII,[3] the statement is made that "The Puans and the Folle Avoines are not numerous; each nation may number 80 or 100 men. . . . All these tribes are very industrious, and the women are four times more numerous than the men." Here we have a specific comparison of numbers between the males and females, but when Charlevoix arrived at the mouth of Menomonee river, in 1721, he found a village of this tribe, and says: "The whole nation consists of this village, and that not very numerous."[4]

Lieutenant Gorrell, commandant of La Bay (Green Bay) in 1761, states that "There are, by both French and Indian accounts, 39,100 Indian warriors, besides women and children, depending on this post for supplies."[5] Among the tribes enumerated he mentions 150 warriors of the Folles Avoines, occupying two towns at La Bay. According to numerous comparisons made, as pertain to other tribes, this would place the entire population at about 750 souls, thus allowing five to

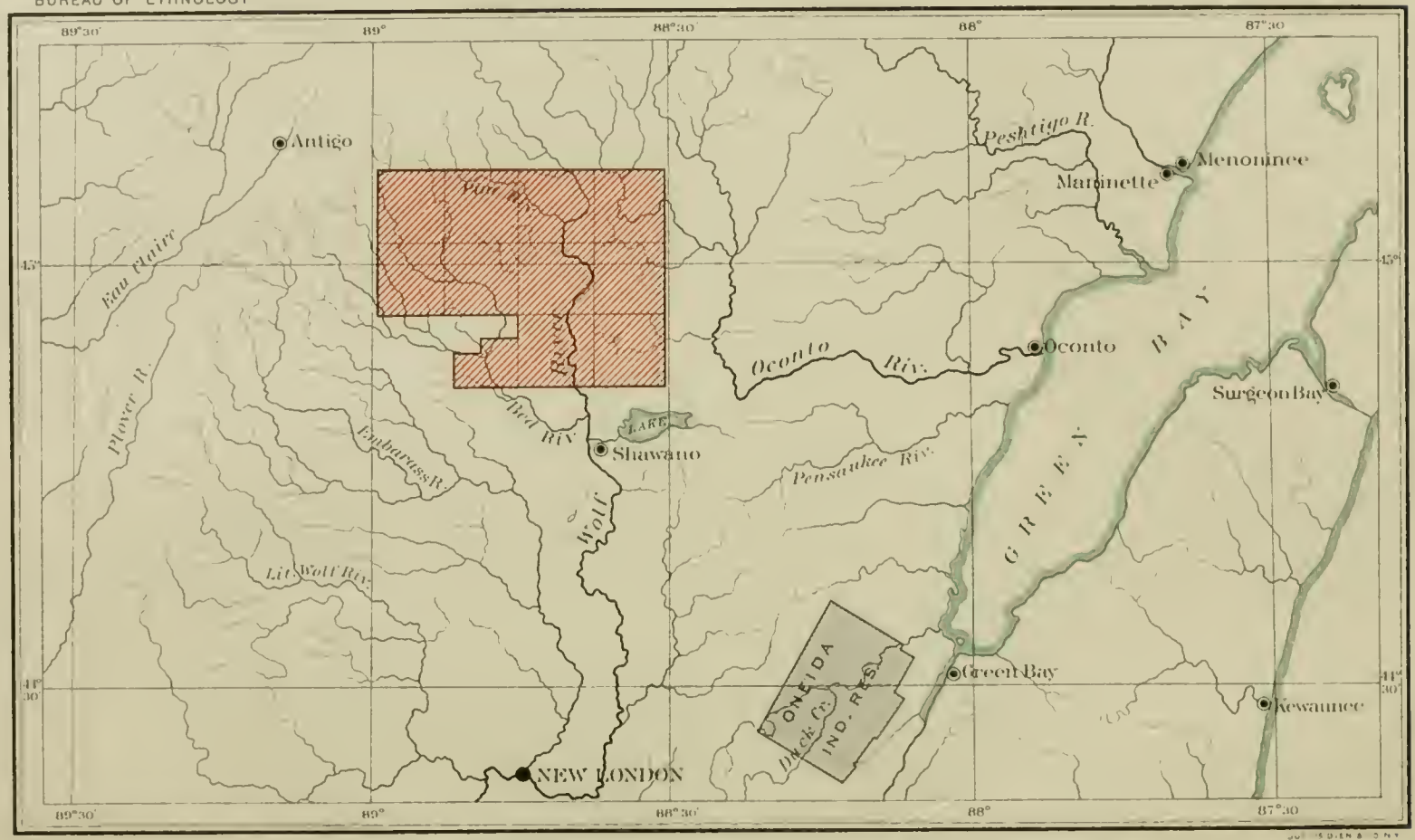
[1] According to the land surveys, about 10,000 acres additional are embraced in lakes and meandered streams.

[2] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1872, Washington, 1872, p. 20.

[3] Docs. Coll. Hist. New York, vol. IX, Albany, 1855, p. 889.

[4] Journal of a Voyage to North America, vol. II, London, 1781, p. 61.

[5] Gorrell's Journal, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. I, 1854, p. 32.



PART OF WISCONSIN SHOWING LOCATION OF MENOMINEE RESERVATION.

each warrior. In Purcell's enumeration of "warriors, gun-men,"[1] etc, the Creek and Seminole Indians had about one warrior in three of the population; the Chickasaw one in four, the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Catawba one in three. If the same ratio should be applied in the enumeration of the Menomini, the population of that tribe would be nearer 600.

There appears to have been a rapid increase in the population subsequently if we may credit Dr Morse,[2] who visited Green bay in 1820, with reference to the subject of removing to that country the New York Indians. He says, "The Menominees, or Folles Avoines, have 600 warriors, 900 women, 2,400 children, total 3,900; they live in ten villages, north-west of Green Bay, on Menomine river, which is their north-east boundary, but chiefly on Fox river, on and near Winnebago lake." A few are mentioned, also, as scattered at other places. In this enumeration the proportion of warriors to the whole number would be about one to six and a half.

According to an enumeration made in September, 1842, the population was found to be 2,464,[3] but in 1850 they were estimated at only 500 souls.[4] In 1856 the number reported was 1,930, while in 1857 the total number was given as 1,697, comprising 358 men, 425 women, and 914 children; the discrepancy being doubtless due to inaccuracy in counting and not to death. Great difficulty has been experienced at various times in endeavoring to obtain an accurate census, as Indians are frequently governed in their statements and conduct by the motive which they conceive to prompt the agents or other authorities in procuring such enumeration. When, for instance, they believe that it is to their advantage to exaggerate their population, women have been known to report themselves with their family, and to increase the latter by borrowing an infant to swell the number; when, a few moments later, the same infant, wrapped in another blanket, would be brought forward by another woman to add to her household. On the contrary, if the question of population be such that it would be advantageous for the Indians to report as small a number as possible, scarcely any infants could be readily found.

The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1863 places the Menomini population at 1,724 souls, while some years later (in 1872) the population on the reservation was 1,362. The report of the same officer for the year 1882 places the population at 1,500; for the year 1884 at 1,400; for 1890 at 1,311, and for the year 1892, as above stated, the total is given as 1,335, not including those residing at and in the vicinity of Oconto, who number about 300.

The Menomini Indians are rapidly adopting the pursuits of civilized people, considering the comparatively short period of time since they

[1] Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. IV, 1795 pp 99-100.

[2] Report to the Sec. of War, New Haven, 1822, p 51.

[3] Report Commissioner Ind. Aff., Washington, 1843, p 440

[4] History of the Catholic Missions, John Gilmary Shea, New York (1854?).

wore blankets and subsisted almost exclusively by the chase. But little hunting is done at this day, although deer, bear, and smaller animals are abundant. This tribe has always been friendly to the whites, and their reception of strangers is hospitable. Major Zebulon Montgomery Pike, in his "Expeditions," mentions a meeting in Minnesota with Shawano and his band, who had gone hunting, and after recounting the statements concerning the personal appearance of the people, says:

> From my own observation, I had sufficient reason to confirm their information as respected the males; for they were all straight and well made, about the middle size; their complexions generally fair for savages, their teeth good, their eyes large and rather languishing; they have a mild but independent expression of countenance, that charms at first sight; in short, they would be considered any where, as handsome men.[1]

Charlevoix, after referring to the single village which he found, and remarking that the nation was not numerous, says: "'Tis really great pity, they being the finest and handsomest men in all Canada."[2] It is to be regretted that this statement can not now be substantiated.

Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in his Recollections of a Tour through Wisconsin in 1832, says of the Menomini:

> In person they are a thick-set frame, less tall, and in better condition than most Indians, and at least equally indolent. The thief is not so common a character with them as with many other tribes. Their attachment to the United States has not been exceeded by any Indian people.[3]

Mr Grignon,[4] whose authority regarding the Menomini is beyond question, since he was himself connected with this tribe by blood and was a life-long resident among them, remarks:

> The Menomonees were less warlike than the Sauks and Foxes; they, at least, did not get embroiled in wars with other Indian nations as much as the other tribes . . . My grandfather remarked, that he regarded the Menomonees as the most peaceful, brave, and faithful of all the tribes who ever served under him. This was a high compliment, but in my opinion richly merited. They have ever proved, as a nation, friendly to the whites; and in the general Indian plot of Pontiac, in 1763, the Menomonees alone kept aloof, and rendered signal services to Lieut. Gorrell and party at Green bay.

Of the aggregate population of 1,635, 1,000 are reported as members of the church, services being conducted by the Franciscan fathers; while the two schools accommodate over 300 pupils, who are making satisfactory progress in education. Drunkenness is the most serious evil from which the Indians suffer, though the number of instances of intoxication is not so great as on many reservations more favorably situated for obtaining liquor. Crime is rare among the Menomini; during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892, only six criminals were convicted by the Indian court. This court, which is a model of its kind,

[1] Acct. of Expeds. to the Sources of the Mississippi, Phil'a, 1810, p. 83.
[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 61.
[3] Recol. of a Tour Through Wis. in 1832; in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol i, 1855, p. 69.
[4] Augustin Grignon, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 265.

is composed of Nio'pet, Chickeny (Mä'tshikinĕu[v]), and Ni'aqtawâ'pomi, three worthy representatives of the Menomini, the former being at the same time civil chief of the tribe, while the last named is second chief.

During the early part of the present century Indian captives were held as slaves. Augustin Grignon[1] is responsible for the following statement:

> During the constant wars of the Indians, several of the Wisconsin tribes were in the habit of making captives of the Pawnees, Osages, Missouries, and even of the distant Mandans, and these were consigned to servitude. I know that the Ottawas and Sauks made such captives; but am not certain about the Menomonees, Chippewas, Pottawottamies, Foxes and Winnebagoes. The Menomonees, with a few individual exceptions, did not engage in these distant forays. The Menomonees, and probably other tribes, had Pawnee slaves, which they obtained by purchase of the Ottawas, Sauks and others who captured them; but I never knew the Menomonees to have any by capture, and but a few by purchase. For convenience sake, I suppose, they were all denominated Pawnees, when some of them were certainly of other Missouri tribes, as I have already mentioned, for I have known three Osages, two Missouries, and one Mandan among these Indian slaves. Of the fourteen whom I have personally known, six were males and eight females, and the most of them were captured while young. I have no recollection as to the pecuniary value of these slaves or servants, but I have known two females sold, at different times, each for one hundred dollars.

Speaking of the treatment of slaves by their owners, Mr Grignon continues:[2]

> When these Pawnee slaves had Indian masters, they were generally treated with great severity. . . . A female slave owned by a Menomonee woman, while sick, was directed by her unfeeling mistress to take off her over-dress, and she then deliberately stabbed and killed her; and this without a cause or provocation, and not in the least attributable to liquor. It should also be mentioned, on the other hand, that Mas-eaw, a Pawnee among the Menomonees, was not treated or regarded as a slave, and married a chief's daughter, and lived with them till his death, and has now a gray-headed son living at Lake Shawanaw.

It has already been stated that Osh'kosh, fifty years ago, publicly asserted that his family was without doubt the only one of pure Menomini blood. From an examination of the genealogies of many of the old men, this statement does not seem at all incredible, and it may be questioned if at this day there remains a single individual free from the taint of foreign blood, either white or Indian. Concerning this Dr Morse makes the following statement:

> Judge Reaume, an Indian Trader, who has resided at Green Bay thirty years, said to me—"The Menomonees, in great part, are of mixed blood, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, and Foxes, with whom they intermarry. There is an intimate intercourse between all these tribes, who have a common language, (the Chippewa), which they all understand, and many of them hunt together in the interior of the N. W. territory, on the headwaters of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers."[3]

The better informed men of the tribe at the present time are aware of the intermixture of blood, and marriages are frequently formed with

[1] Seventy-two years' Recol. of Wis.; in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 256.
[2] Ibid., p. 258.
[3] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven 1822, pp. 57, 58.

Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and other Indian tribes, as well as with whites. This may be one of the reasons for the imperfect grammatic structure of the language as well as for its rather limited vocabulary.

Reverend Alfred Brunson,[1] in his account of the early history of Wisconsin, refers to this tribe as follows:

> The Menomonees were the next tribe, in point of importance, though of prior date to some others, among the first Aboriginal occupants of what is now the State of Wisconsin. They were of the Algonquin race, but appear to have quarreled with, or rebelled against the national authorities of the Chippewas, and were probably driven from Canada on account of it, and took shelter with other straggling and adventurous bands on the common battle-field between the Algic and Dahkota races, in the vicinity of Green Bay.

Charlevoix visited Green bay in 1721, and after relating his experience in navigating down the western shore, says:

> We found ourselves abreast of a little island, which lies near the western side of the bay, and which concealed from our view, the mouth of a river, on which stands the village of the Malhomines Indians, called by our French *Folles Avoines* or Wild Oat Indians, probably from their living chiefly on this sort of grain. The whole nation consists only of this village, and that too not very numerous. 'Tis really great pity, they being the finest and handsomest men in all Canada. They are even of a larger stature than the Pontewatamies. I have been assured that they had the same original and nearly the same languages with the Noquets, and the Indians at the Falls. But they add that they have likewise a language peculiar to themselves, which they never communicate. I have also been told several stories of them, as of a serpent which visits their village every year and is received with much ceremony, which makes me believe them a little addicted to witchcraft.[2]

The Noquets are also mentioned by Charlevoix as not a numerous nation, living on a bay or gulf of the Noquets. They originally "came from the coasts of Lake Superior, and of which there remain only a few scattered families, who have no fixed residence."

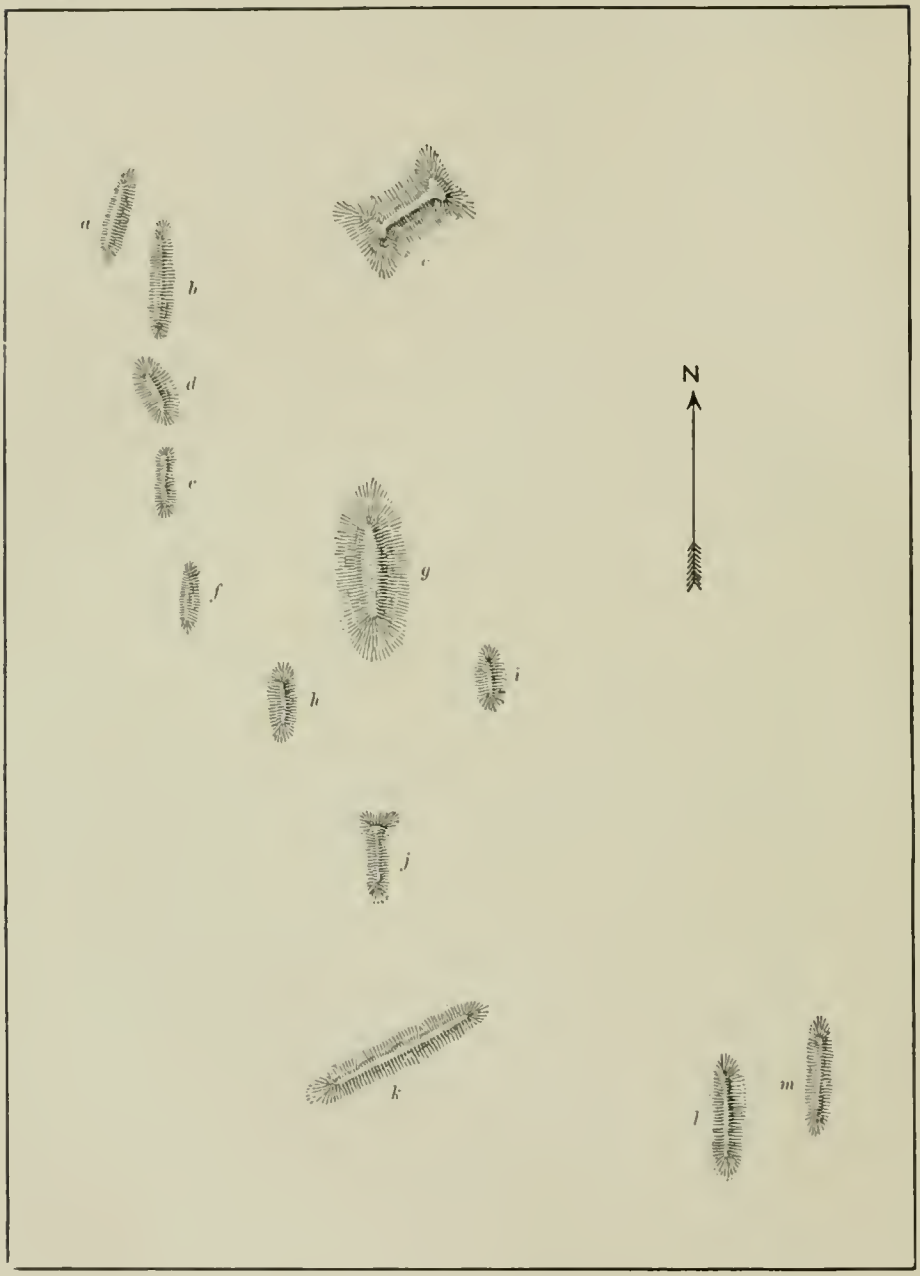
ANTIQUITIES

Mounds are reported as very numerous throughout the area embraced within the boundaries of the Menominі reservation, but thus far no special examination of them has been made. The mounds are most numerous along the lake shores, especially north and northeast of Keshena, though but few relics have as yet been unearthed. Major Thomas H. Savage, the present Indian agent, informed me that he had opened several mounds, about 8 miles east of the agency, and had found human remains, as well as a few copper spearheads, one of which is illustrated in figure 1. The specimen is quite neatly made, and appears originally to have been sharpened along the edges, as the cutting edge is still in very good condition.

The greater number of these mounds appear to be entirely barren. One group, situated between 7 and 8 miles north-northeast of Keshena, is represented in plate II. They are situated about 400 yards west of

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin vol IV, 1859, pp. 242–243.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to North America, London, 1781, vol. ii, p. 61.



GROUP OF MOUNDS NEAR KESHENA

the shores of a small lake, and perhaps 50 feet above the water level. Pine, oak, and other trees grow plentifully all over the area. In nearly every instance there is present about the base of the mound a slight depression, perhaps scarcely perceptible, 1 to 6 inches in depth, and one-third or one-half as broad as the width of the mound itself. This appears to have resulted from the removal of the earth for the construction of the mound. The height of these mounds varies from 1½ to 3 feet, and they are of varying dimensions, as noted below. They are nearly all so constructed that the longitudinal axis is north-and-south. In the following measurements only approximate dimensions are given, as frequently the outlines can not be determined accurately. A number of excavations were made, but no implements or other objects were found. The soil forming the mounds is usually light and sandy.

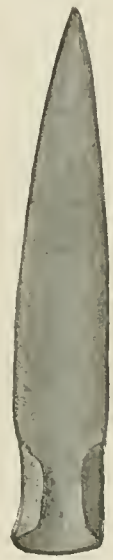


FIG. 1—Copper spearpoint.

The mound *a* (plate II) is slightly curved longitudinally toward the east of north; it measures 42 feet long and 14 feet broad. The surrounding depression is well marked, while the greatest height of the mound is 2½ feet.

The mound marked *b* measures 58 feet in length by 16 in width, and shows a shallow ditch around its base. It is about the same height as the preceding.

The mound *c* is of rather curious form, and although nearly 3 feet high along its central ridge, the sides are considerably worn down. There are two projections, one at each end, the one at the northeast measuring about 20 feet across its entire width and the southwestern one 28 feet, the length of the mound from southwest to northeast being 48 feet. The depression around the outline of this mound is pronounced.

The fourth mound, *d*, is placed almost at right angles to the axis of the preceding and measures 30 feet in length and 24 in width. On the center of this mound stands a pine tree over 2 feet in diameter.

Mound *e* measures 29 feet in length by 18 feet in width; both this and the preceding are less than 2 feet in height.

Mound *f* measures 32 feet in length by 15 in width.

Mound *g* is slightly curved toward the west of north, and measures 70 feet in length by 30 feet in average width.

The mound at *h* is slightly narrower along the middle than at the extremities, and measures about 50 feet in length by 20 in width. A large pine tree occupies the middle of the northern extremity. (Several trenches were cut transversely through this mound.)

The mound at *i* measures 22 feet by 12 feet in area, showing a slight indentation in the western side.

Mound *j* measures 65 feet in length, 20 feet across at the southern extremity, and only 16 at the opposite end. This extremity is somewhat

straightened across and indented, as if it might have been an attempt at forming an animal mound.

The next mound, *k*, toward the south, extends 80 feet from southwest to northeast, and is only 12 feet across. The surrounding depression is at several places about a foot in depth. It is much overgrown with saplings and brush, a circumstance not occurring in connection with any of the other mounds.

A short distance east of mound *k* are two other mounds, *l* and *m*, the former measuring 50 feet in length by 18 in width, the latter 50 feet in length by 15 or 16 in width.

East of this area, as well as north and south of it, at varying distances, mounds were visible, and many others were reported.

In the immediate vicinity of Keshena there are many remains of this character. North of the village is a high ridge covered with immense pines and oaks, which elevation separates the valley of Wolf river from some marshy lakes on the south. The top of this ridge is just wide enough to use as a roadway, and is about 75 feet above the river, which is distant some 200 yards. The ridge extends from southwest to northeast, and appears to have been formed by glacial action; its total length between the two areas in which it merges into the natural prairie level is about one-third of a mile, and at various places along the upper surface there are the remains of mounds averaging 12 to 15 feet in diameter and from 2½ to 4 feet in height. Some of these have been opened at some time during the past, and it is reported that one or two of them contained human bones.

Ten miles north of Keshena, near Wolf river, there are several large circular mounds, but no examination of them has been made.

This country was, previous to the appearance of the Menomini in 1852, claimed by the Ojibwa, bands of this tribe having lived east of Keshena, about Shawano lake. The Ojibwa of Wisconsin, as well as of Minnesota, allege, however, that they do not know who built these mounds; but they generally attribute them to the Dakota, who, they claim, were the first occupants of the country.

Fragments of pottery are occasionally found in the vicinity of mounds, and these, likewise, are attributed by the Menomini to their predecessors. Occasional arrowheads of quartzite, jasper, and hornstone occur, which also are believed to have been made by the Dakota or some other Siouan tribe now residing westward from this locality.

About 3 miles northwest of Keshena, near Wolf river, there is a large conical bowlder of pink granite, measuring about 6 feet in height and 4 feet in diameter at the base. This rock is in a state of disintegration, and is regarded by the Menomini as a manido. In a myth given elsewhere it is related that a party of Indians once called on Mä'näbŭsh to ask for favors, and that all of them were accommodated save one, who had the temerity to ask for everlasting life. Mä'näbŭsh, it is related, took this man by the shoulders and thrust him upon the

earth, saying, "You shall have everlasting life," whereupon he instantly became a rock. This rock, on account of its flesh-like tint, is believed to be the remains of the unfortunate Indian, who has now become a manido. It is the custom for all passing Indians to deposit at the base of the rock a small quantity of tobacco.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT, TOTEMS AND CHIEFS

THE LINES OF CHIEFTAINCY

Since the time of the conspiracy of Pontiac, the Menomini Indians have figured in history to greater or less extent, and it is from such sources, as well as from tradition, that some knowledge is derived pertaining to the chiefs of the tribe. There appear to be two lines, from both of which there have arisen, from time to time, claimants to the civil chieftainship of this tribe; although the Indians generally admit that the Owa'sse, or Bear, totem is traditionally the oldest, as well as the gens from which the civil chief should be selected. To make intelligible the reasoning on which the Menomini base their sociologic organization, and the order of precedence and civil government, the following explanation of the mythic origin of their totems and totemic organization is presented somewhat fully. The myth was obtained from a number of the older and influential chiefs, subchiefs, and mitä'wok, prominent among whom were Nio'pet, Nia'qtowâ'pomi, and Mä'tshi Kinĕ'u^{x}.

ORIGIN OF TOTEMS

It is admitted that originally there were a greater number of totems among the Menomini than at the present time, but that they gradually became extinct. The tradition relating to some of them is here given, the translation being literal so nearly as possible:

When the Great Mystery[1] made the earth, he created also numerous beings termed manidos or spirits, giving them the forms of animals and birds. Most of the former were malevolent ânâ'maqkī'ŭ ("underground beings"); the latter consisted of eagles and hawks, known as the Thunderers, chief of which was the Invisible Thunder, though represented by Kinĕ'u^{x}, the Golden Eagle.

When Mashä' Ma'nidō—the Good Mystery—saw that the bear was still an animal, he determined to allow him to change his form. The Bear, still known as Nanoqke, was pleased at what the Good Mystery was going to grant him, and he was made an Indian, though with a light skin. This took place at Mi'nikâ'ni sē'pe (Menomini river), near the spot where its waters empty into Green bay, and at this place also the Bear first came out of the ground. He found himself alone, and

[1] Mashä' Ma'nidō, or Great Unknown. This term is not to be understood as implying a belief in one supreme being; there are several manidos, each supreme in his own realm, as well as many lesser mysteries, or deities, or spirits. Neither is it to be regarded as implying a definite recognition of spirituality corresponding to that of civilized peoples, for the American Indians have not fully risen to the plane of psychotheism; compare the Siouan concept as defined by Dorsey, Eleventh Annual Report, 1894, p. 395 et seq.

decided to call to himself Kinē'nˇ, the Eagle, and said, "Eagle, come to me and be my brother." Thereupon the eagle descended, and also took the form of a human being. While they were considering whom to call upon to join them, they perceived a beaver approaching. The Beaver requested to be taken into the totem of the Thunderers, but, being a woman, was called Nama'kuklu' (Beaver woman), and was adopted as a younger brother of the Thunderer. (The term younger brother is here employed in a generic sense, and not specifically.) The totem of the Beaver is at present termed the Powa'tinōt'. Soon afterward, as the Bear and the Eagle stood on the banks of a river, they saw a stranger, the Sturgeon (Nomä'en), who was adopted by the Bear as a younger brother and servant. In like manner Omas'kos, the Elk, was accepted by the Thunderer as a younger brother and water-carrier.

At another time the Bear was going up Wisconsin river, and becoming fatigued sat down to rest. Near by was a waterfall, from beneath which emerged Moqwai'o, the Wolf, who approached and asked the Bear why he had wandered to that place. The Bear said that he was on his way to the source of the river, but being fatigued and unable to travel farther, he had come there to rest. At that moment Otä'tshia (the crane), was flying by, when the Bear called to him and said: "Crane, carry me to my people at the head of the river, and I will take you for my younger brother." As the Crane was taking the Bear on his back, the Wolf called out to the Bear, saying, "Bear, take me also as a younger brother, for I am alone." The Bear answered, "Come with me Wolf, and I will accept you also as my younger brother." This is how the Crane and the Wolf became younger brothers of the Bear; but as Moqwai'o, the Wolf, afterward permitted Änäm', the Dog, and Abä'shŭsh, the Deer, to join him, these three are now recognized as a phratry, the Wolf still being entitled to a seat in council on the north side and with the Bear phratry.

Inä'mäqkī'ŭˇ (the Big Thunder) lived at Winnebago lake, near Fond du Lac. The Good Mystery made the Thunderers the laborers, and to be of benefit to the whole world. When they return from the southwest in the spring, they bring the rains which make the earth green and cause the plants and trees to grow. If it were not for the Thunderers, the earth would become parched and the grass would wither and die. The Good Mystery also gave to the Thunderers corn, the kind commonly known as squaw corn, which grows on small stalks and has ears of various colors.

The Thunderers were also the makers of fire, having first received it from Mä'näbŭsh, who had stolen it from an old man dwelling on an island in the middle of a great lake.

The Thunderers decided to visit the Bear village, at Mi'nikâ'ni, and when they arrived at that place they asked the Bear to join them, promising to give corn and fire in return for rice, which was the property of the Bear and Sturgeon, and which abounded along the waters of Mi'nikâ'ni. The Bear family agreed to this, and since that time the

two families have therefore lived together. The Bear family occupies the eastern side of the council, while the Thunderers sit on the western side. The latter are the war chiefs and have charge of the lighting of the fire.

The Wolf came from Moqwai'o O'sepe'ome ("Wolf, his creek"). The Dog (Änäm') was born at Nomawi'qkito (Sturgeon bay); the Abä'shŭsh (deer) came from Sha'wano Nipe'se (Shawano or Southern lake) and, together with the Dog, joined the Wolf at Menomini river.

After this union, the Bear built a long wigwam, extending north-and-south, and a fire was kindled by the Thunderers in the middle. From this all the families receive fire, which is carried to them by one of the Thunderers, and when the people travel the Thunderers go on ahead to a camping place and start the fire to be used by all.

THE TOTEMS OF THE PRESENT

The Menomini totems or gentes as they exist at this day are as follows, arranged in their respective phratries and in order of importance:

I. Owa'sse wi'dishi'annn, or Bear phratry:

Owa'sse ..... Bear
Kitä'mi ..... Porcupine
Miqkä'no ..... Turtle
Otä'tshia ..... Crane
Moqwai'o ..... Wolf
Mikēk' ..... Otter
Nomä'en ..... Sturgeon
Nakŭ'ti ..... Sunfish.

Although the Wolf is recognized as a member of the Bear phratry, his true position is at the head of the third phratry.

II. Inä'mäqkī'ŭ^{v} wi'dishi'annn, or Big Thunder phratry:

Kinĕ'u^{v} ..... Golden Eagle
Shawa'nani' ..... Fork-tail Hawk
Pinäsh'in ..... Bald Eagle
Opash'koshi ..... Turkey-buzzard
Pakäsh'tsheke'u' .... Swift-flying Hawk
Pe'kike'kune ..... Winter Hawk (remains all winter in Wisconsin)
Ke'shewa'toshe ..... Sparrow Hawk
Maq'kwoka'ni ..... Red-tail Hawk
Kaka'kĕ ..... Crow
Inäq'tĕk ..... Raven
Piwat'inōt' ..... Beaver (former name Noma'i)
Omas'kos ..... Elk
Una'wanīnk' ..... Pine Squirrel.

III. Moqwai'o wi'dishi'annn, or Wolf phratry:

Moqwai'o ..... Wolf
Änäm' ..... Dog
Abä'shŭsh ..... Deer.

According to Shu'nieu and Wios'kasit the arrangement of totems into phratries and subphratries was as follows:

I. The Owa'sse wi'dishi'anun, or Bear phratry, consisting of the following totems and subphratries:

Owa'sse	Bear	Totems
Miqkä'no	Mud-turtle	Totems
Kitä'mi	Porcupine	Totems
Namä'nu	Beaver	Subphratries (these two being brothers).
O''sass	Muskrat	Subphratries (these two being brothers).

II. The Kinĕ'n^{v} wi'dishi'anun, or Eagle phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Pinäsh'in	Bald Eagle
Kaka'kĕ	Crow
Inä'qtĕk	Raven
Ma'qknana'ni	Red-tail Hawk
"Hinanä'shiu^{v}"	Golden Eagle
Pe'niki'konau	Fish Hawk

III. The Otä'tshia wi'dishi'anun, or Crane phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Otä'tshia	Crane
Shakshak'eu	Great Heron
Os'se	"Old Squaw" Duck
O'kawa'siku	Coot

IV. The Moqwai'o wi'dishi'anun, or Wolf phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Moqwai'o	Wolf
"Hana" [änä'm]	Dog
Apaq'ssos	Deer

V. The Mō^{n}s wi'dishi'anun, or Moose phratry, with the following totems:

Mō^{n}s	Moose
Oma'skos	Elk
Wabä'shiu	Marten
Wū'tshik	Fisher

TOTEMIC ORGANIZATION

After the several totems congregated and united into an organized body for mutual benefit, according to the myth, they still were without the means of providing themselves with food, medicinal plants, and the power to ward off disease and death.

When the Good Mystery beheld the people on the new earth, and found them afflicted with hardship and disease, and exposed to constant annoyance from the malevolent underground beings (the ānâ'maqkī'ñ), he concluded to provide them with the means of bettering their condition, and accomplished it by sending down to the earth one of his

compañion mysteries named Mä′näbŭsh. This is explained in the tradition called The Story of Mä′näbŭsh; or, "Mä′näbŭsh A′tanō′qen," and forms one of the lectures delivered by the Mitä′wok, in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, at the initiation into that order of a new candidate.

From the foregoing it will be observed that the claims to authority by the family of which Nio′pet, the present chief, is the head are well founded. Furthermore, mother-right, the older form of descent in the female line, is not now recognized by the Menomini, who have advanced to the next stage, that of father-right, or descent in the male line.

Mr Sutherland, in his remarks on early Wisconsin explorations and settlements, makes note of the existence of totems or gentes, the heads of each of which were entitled to a certain degree of authority through which they were designated as chiefs or sachems. The existence of such various grades of rank often gives rise to confusion, unless the exact grade of such rank be ascertained. Regarding the descent of chiefs this author remarks:[1]

> There were, in some instances, several clans existing among the same general tribe or nation, whose principal or leader was also denominated a sachem or chief. Hence we account for the fact, that several persons in the same tribe bear the title of "chief." These minor chiefs, however, held only subordinate positions. Indeed, the leading chief, in time of peace, was not invested with any extraordinary powers. All matters of importance had to be settled by the tribe, in general council. When a chief died, his position was claimed, as a general rule, by his son, or some kinsman, as a hereditary right; but oftener, perhaps, the succession was in the female line. In some instances, when this right fell to one who was judged unworthy to possess it, the tribe chose their own chiefs. As instances of this kind, Brant of the Mohawks, and Tomah of the Menomonees, were placed in that position, for their superior wisdom and valor.

Some of the ancient customs respecting the disposition of property and children, in the event of the death of either parent, are still spoken of, though now seldom, if ever, practiced. As descent was in the mother's line, at her death both children and personal effects were transmitted to the nearest of the mother's totemic kin, while at the death of the father his personal property was divided among his relatives or the people of his totem.

Another interesting condition was the general belief in the common relationship of not only the individuals of a certain totem within the tribe, but of all persons of a similarly named totem of another tribe belonging to the same linguistic family; and in the belief of the Menomini (and Ojibwa of Red lake, Minnesota) this extended also to tribes other than those of the same linguistic family. An instance of this may be referred to in the remarks of several mitä′wok of the Bear totem, who stated that the individuals of the Bear totem of the Sioux must be of the same kinship with themselves, as they had the same common ancestor. This peculiarity of belief obtains also among some of the Australian peoples.

[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. x, pp. 280, 281, 1888.

Reference is made elsewhere to the killing of animals which are the same as the totem of the hunter. Although a Bear man may kill a bear, he must first address himself to it and apologize for depriving it of life; and there are certain portions only of which he may eat, the head and paws being tabu, and no member of his totem may partake of these portions, although the individuals of all other totems may do so.

It may be of interest in this connection to state that one of the nearest linguistic allies of the Menomini, the Ottawa, claim to be originally of the Mō^{m}s, or Moose, totem. This is stated by Mr A. J. Blackbird, one of the most intelligent of the tribe, as well as one of the headmen, to be the designation of the "true" or full-blood Ottawa, and that other totems were added through the intermarriage of Ottawa women with men of other tribes because children inherit the mother's totem. He stated also that his father had been of the Pi′pigwe^{n}′, or "Little Hawk," totem of another tribe, and in this wise the totem became added to the Ottawa. In like manner was the Wabūs′, or "Rabbit," totem added, this tribe coming from the vicinity of Hudson bay or Lake of the Woods, where they are said to have occupied "caves and holes in the ground." Intermarriage with the Potawatomi was common, but this tribe designated the Ottawa as Nisai′^{m}e^{n} and Nisä′sä, "big brother" or "elder brother."

GENEALOGY OF CHIEFS

The Menomini claim always to have had a first or grand chief, and a second or war chief, beside many subchiefs who were heads of bands or of families. In the event of the death of the grand chief, the eldest son succeeded, unless a more popular pretender could enroll in his own behalf the greater influence in the tribe. Since the election of Nio′pet, the second chief has been Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, a man of steady habits and influence, and one in whom the tribe has confidence. Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, however, is not related to Nio′pet's family or gens, but was designated to fill this office because the legal claimants adopted the manners and pursuits of civilization, and will probably never permit their names to be proposed as successors to their father's position. When the chief of the tribe dies and leaves a minor son, the second or war chief acts as regent until the heir attains an age at which he is deemed competent to govern.

The present divisions or bands of the Menomini are named after the heads of each band, and number eleven, viz: (1) Osh′kosh; (2) Aia′-miqta; (3) Sha′kitōk, at present under Ni′aqtawâ′pomi; (4) Mā′nabŭ′-shō; (5) Le Motte; (6) Piwä′qtinet; (7) Pĕsh′tiko; (8) O′hopē′sha; (9) Kē′shok, or Kē′so; (10) Äqkâ′mot, now under charge of Mā′tshiki-ne′ū^{r}; (11) Shu′nu′ni′ū^{r}, or Shu′nien.

In addition to the several chiefs, there was formerly more need of the services of a spokesman or orator, upon whom devolved the duties of promulgating the wishes of the supreme chief; or, in the event of a

council or treaty with another tribe or with a civilized nation, his services as orator and diplomat were demanded in behalf of the tribe. The incumbent of such an office was not eligible for, nor in line of, promotion to the office of either war chief or grand chief, although such an accession could be accomplished at the desire of the tribal council, or by the tribe itself, in the event of the legitimate heir being a minor or an idiot, or in case there was no direct heir, or perhaps even when the incumbent had gained a following in the tribe sufficiently influential and powerful to insure him safety in his promotion.

From the following genealogies of the two lines of chiefs, the so-called Carron family and the Osh'kosh family, it will be observed that the former gained their hold on the affairs of the tribe during the last century, although the ancestors of the present chief, Nio'pet, are the legitimate heirs, from both traditional and historical evidence, to the office of grand chief, an office which has always been one of the prerogatives of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, or Bear totem.

Tshekâ'tshake'mau—or Shekâ'tshokwe'mau "Old Chief," or "The Old King," as he is generally designated in literature—was chief in 1763, when Carron, a French half-blood trader, was his spokesman, and subsequently became his successor (see Carron's genealogy). A number of the headmen of the tribe, as well as descendants of Carron, affirm that he was the offspring of a French Canadian father and an Abnaki woman. Be this as it may, they all acknowledge that Tshekâ'tshake'mau was chief when Carron appeared at Green bay.

The late Mr Draper, in his compilation of historical data relative to the settlements at Green bay, says:

> Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma sickened and died, while temporarily at Prairie du Chien with some of his family, about 1821; he was then nearly blind, and I think he was at least one hundred years old. He was a man of good sense, but no public speaker, and was highly esteemed by his nation. His certificate as Grand Chief of the Menomonees, given him by Gov. Haldimand, of Canada, August 17, 1778, which has been preserved by his family, is now in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.[1]

It is believed that Tshekâ'tshake'mau was about a hundred years of age at the time of his death, but for this impression no reliable data are at hand. The name of "Old Chief" was without doubt applied to this man late in life, and as the above-mentioned diploma bears the name of Chawanon (Sha'wano), "Southerner," it is probable that he may have been so named in his earlier life, or that, perhaps, the Canadian authorities may have so designated him at the time of naming him chief of the Menomini, because he came from a more southerly tribe. A facsimile of his certificate as grand chief of the Menomini is presented herewith as plate III.

The genealogy of the Oshkosh family is as follows:

1. TSHEKÂ'TSHAKE'MAU, "Old Chief," head of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, married (name of wife unknown) and had issue.
   (2) I. Ä'kwine'mi.

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, p. 226, note.

2. Ä'KWINE'MI (Tshekä'tshakē'man) of the Owa'sse dodä'mi, married (name of wife unknown) and had issue.

(3) I. Osh'kosh.

(4) II. Oshkiq'hinä'nĭñ".

3. OSH'KOSH (Ä'kwine'mi) "Bear's Claw:" of the Owa'sse dodä'mi, born 1795, died August 21, 1858. Osh'kosh was a celebrated character; Mr Grignon, who knew him personally, says:[1]

> Osh-kosh, and his brother Osh-ka-he-nah-niew, or *The Young Man*, are grandsons of Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, or *The Old King*, so long the grand chief of the nation, and whose place Osh-kosh, by inheritance, has possessed since 1827. As we have seen, Osh-kosh was upon the war-path in 1812–14, under the special superintendence of Tomah, and under Stambaugh in 1832. The word Osh-kosh signifies *brave*, and such this chief has always proved himself. He is now sixty-two years of age, while his brother, *The Young Man*, whose name begins to be a misnomer, is now fifty-one. Osh-kosh is only of medium size, possessing much good sense and ability, but is a great slave to strong drink, and two of his three sons surpass their father in this beastly vice.

Referring to the treaty of Butte des Morts, in 1827, General Albert G. Ellis[2] says:

> It was at this treaty, that Oshkosh, the present head Chief of the Menomonees, was first recognized. After the Council was open, Gov. Cass said: "We have observed for some time the Menomonees to be in a bad situation as to their chiefs. There is no one we can talk to as the head of the nation. If anything should happen, we want some man, who has authority in the nation, that we can look to. You appear like a flock of geese, without a leader, some fly one way and some another. Tomorrow, at the opening of the Council, we shall appoint a principal chief of the Menomonees. We shall make enquiry this afternoon, and try to select the proper man. We shall give him the medal, and expect the Menomonees to respect him."

The following note respecting Osh'kosh, is quoted at second hand from Lyman C. Draper,[3] and relates to the time of the same treaty:

> On August 7th, two young men were called in front of the commissioners (one named Oiscoss, alias Claw, the other was called Carron). Col. McKinney then addressed them, and put medals around their necks. Oiscoss or Oskoshe, . . . was made head chief, and the future organ of communication with the Commissioners. A short story, will show who Oiscoss was, and what a "proper person" was found in him. One morning, at dawn of day, about a year previous to the treaty of Butte des Morts, a young half breed Indian, who was a distant relative of Mrs. Jourdan, was paddling in his canoe down Hell Creek, a branch of the Fox River. It was still dark, so that objects could not be distinctly discerned. As he glided by the tall rushes growing near the bank, he observed them move, as if some animal was among them. Supposing it to be a deer, he fired at the spot where he saw the motion, and then paddled through an opening in the reeds to see the effect of his shot. To his inexpressible horror, he

[1] Seventy-two years' Recollections of Wisconsin, in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, p. 285.

[2] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1855, vol. ii, 1856, p. 430, note.

[3] Ibid., pp. 430, 431; quoted from Hanson's Lost Prince, or Life of Rev. Eleazer Williams.

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

FREDERICK HAL

Province of Quebec, &c.&c.&
Province, and Frontiers, &c.&

To Chawanon Gr

IN conſideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, teſtified by *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Tolles Avoines* — to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me veſted, I do hereby confirm the ſaid *Chawanon Gran* *Chief of the Tolles Avoines* aforeſaid having beſtowed upon him the *Great* Medal, willing all and ſingular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as *Grand* Chief, and all Officers and others in his Majeſty's Service to treat him accordingly. GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this *Seventeenth* Day of *Auguſt* One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy *Eight* in the *Eighteenth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and ſo Forth

Fred.

BY HIS EXCELL

)IMAND, *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said &c.*

nd Chief of the Folles Avoines

SUR les bons témoignages qui nous ont été rendus de la fidélité, le zèle & l'attachement de *Chawanon Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* au Gouvernement du Roi; & en vertu du pouvoir à nous donné, nous l'avons confirmé *Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* susdit, lui ayant donné la *Grande* Médaille, Ordonnons à tous Sauvages & autres dudit Village, de l'obéir comme *Grand* Chef, & à tous nos Officiers & autres au Service de Sa Majesté, d'avoir pour lui les égards dûs à sa qualité de *Grand Chef & a la Grand* Médaille : en foi de quoi nous avons signé la Présente, à icelle fait apposer le Cachet de nos Armes, & contre-signé par l'un de nos Sécrétaires, à Montréal, ce *Dix Septieme* jour *Aoust* l'année mil sept cent soixante & *dix huit*

Haldimand

NCY'S COMMAND.

Foss

TSHEKÂTSHAKEMAU.

found an Indian in his canoe, which was half drawn on shore, drooping lifelessly over the side of his bark, with a shot through his head. As the deed was accidental, he had no wish to conceal it, and putting the body in his canoe, paddled down to Green Bay, to the encampment of Oiscoss, as the Indian killed belonged to his party. On landing, he went straight to Oiscoss, and informed him of what had happened, when Oiscoss, who was drunk at the time, drew his knife, and plunging it repeatedly into his body, continued stabbing him till he was dead. He was arrested for murder, but as he was a man of great influence among the Indians, was acquitted. But though he had escaped the law, there was another tribunal, of a different kind, to which he was still exposed. There is a traditional institution among the Indians, very similar to the avenger of blood. Mrs. Jonrdan, as the relative of the slain, and a *medicine woman*, had only, according to the custom of the nation, to take a pipe and a war-club, and lay them down at the feet of any of the chiefs of the Menomonees, and pronounce the name "Oiscoss," in order to insure a just and immediate retribution. When the day appointed for the council at Butte des Morts drew near, fearing that unless he was reconciled with her, his life might be taken, he proceeded to her house, acknowledged the murder, threw himself on her mercy, and implored pardon. It was granted, and the only punishment he received was the fierce invective which the eloquent tongue of an indignant woman can bestow.

Concerning the death of Osh′kosh, the following is from A. D. Bonesteel, United States Indian agent at Green Bay ageney, Wisconsin, who in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858 (page 31), says:

The Menomonees have recently met with a severe loss in the death of Oshkosh, their principal chief [which occurred on August 31]. . . . The 31st day of August was a day the like of which will never be seen again by the Menomonee nation—a day on which not only the red man but the white man mourned the loss of a brave and noble hearted man, whose place will never be filled with another as much respected and honored; as an orator his equal has never been known in the Menomonee nation, and he would rank with many of his white brethren.

Nio′pet, son of Osh′kosh, and at present head chief of the tribe, says that Ma′qkata′bit acted as regent during Osh′kosh's minority. Several years since a scheme was proposed to remove the remains of the chief to the city of Osh′kosh, and there to erect a monument; but at present the matter is in abeyance. Osh′kosh died, and was buried near Keshena, the village on the present reservation.

Osh′kosh was married several times, his first wife being Bambâ′ni ("Flying-about-the-sky") of the Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ^{v}, or Thunder dodä′mi, by whom there were three children—

(5) I. Ä′kwinë′mi,
(6) II. Nio′pet,
(7) III. Koshka′noqnĕ^{v}′.

On the death of Bambâ′ni, Osh′kosh married Shakâ′noni′ŭ^{v} ("Decorated-with-plumes"), by whom there was no offspring.

On the death of this woman, Osh'kosh married Tomo'ko'um, by whom he had a daughter—

(8) IV. Kinō'ke.

4. OSHKIQ'HINÄNĬČ' (Ä'kwinë'mi—"Young man") of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, was born in 1806. He was speaker for the tribe at Green Bay in 1820, when Morse visited the Menomini. He was married and has offspring—

I. Joseph.

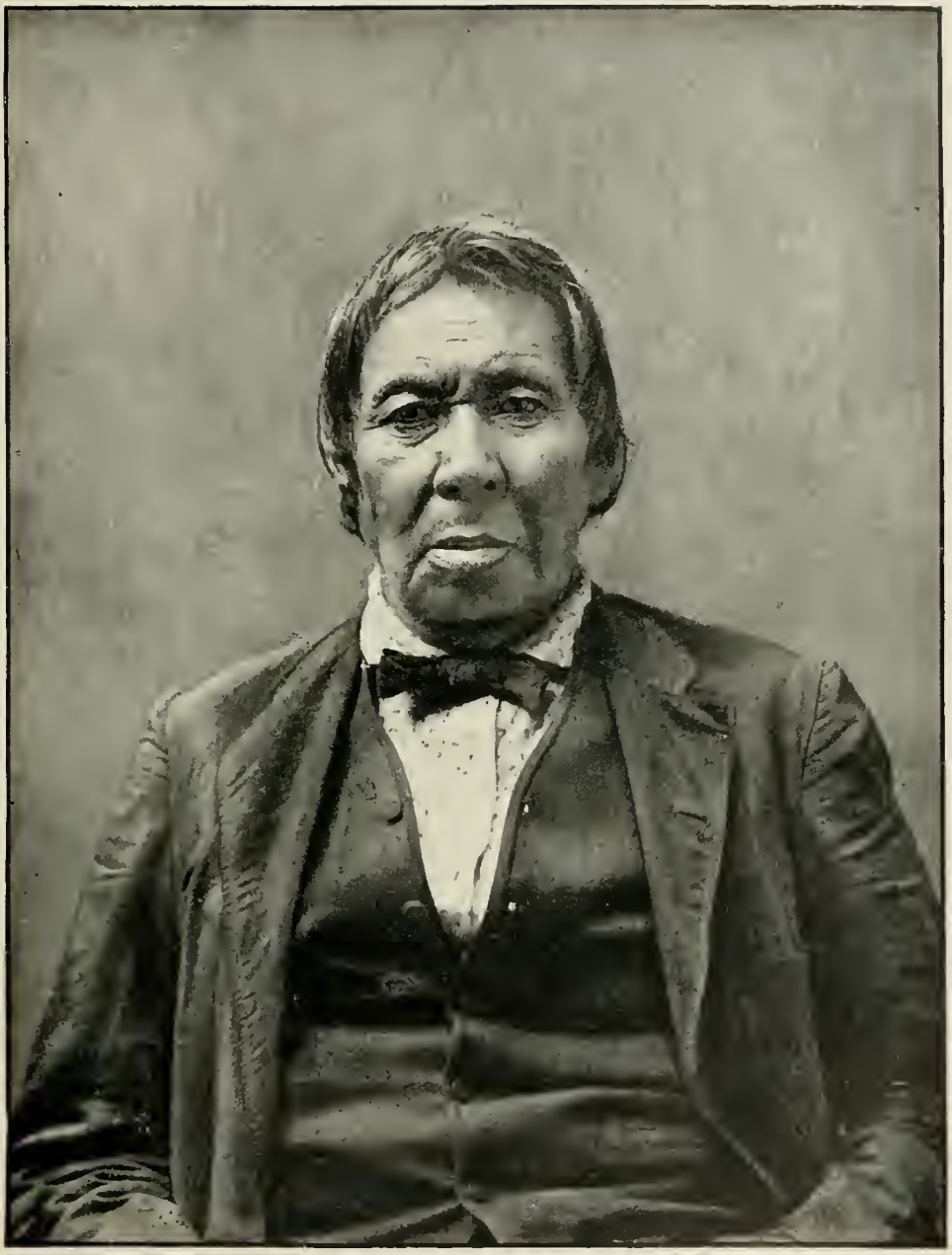
5. Ä'KWINË'MI (Osh'kosh—"In-the mouth-of-everybody") is of the Owä'sse dodä'mi. He was born in 1822, and in 1859 succeeded his father as chief. In 1871, while under the influence of liquor, he stabbed a man, in consequence of which he was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, and for this reason was deposed, Nio'pet succeeding. On his release, Ä'kwinë'mi endeavored to the utmost to recover his chieftaincy, but without avail. He is still a well preserved man, but without influence (his portrait forms plate IV). He was married to Midä'shamo'qki ("Something coming"), also of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, and had eight or nine children, all deceased.

6. NIO'PET (Osh'kosh—"Four-in-a den"), a member of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, was born sixty-one years ago, and, as above stated, was elected chief in 1875 after the conviction and imprisonment of his brother Ä'kwine'mi. Nio'pet and his brothers are perhaps the only full blood Menomini Indians alive today. Osh'kosh himself claimed this distinction for himself nearly fifty years ago. Nio'pet is about 5 feet 9 inches in height, of light brown color, high cheek bones, and in general expression of countenance very decidedly like a Japanese. He has been appointed judge of the Indian court, and is a man of honor and veracity, and universally respected (figure 2). Ni'aqtawâ'pomi is second chief and an able assistant, though not a member of the same family and gens (figure 3).

Nio'pet is one of the chiefs of the Mitä'wit, and is enthusiastic in his devotion to the traditions and rites of the order. Notwithstanding the fact that he is a so-called pagan, Nio'pet has readily yielded to and in fact urged the adoption of the Christian religion by his children, and nothing affords him greater satisfaction and contentment of mind than the fact that his late favorite daughter had been a devout and active member of the church. His wife, a sister of Shu'nien, named Wâ'benomitä'mu ("Wâbeno woman"), of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi, is a quite good looking but rather stout woman, by whom he has had fourteen children, the two survivors being the sons—

(9) I. Reginald,

(10) II. Ernest.



PORTRAIT OF Ä'KWINE'MI OSH'KOSH

7. KOSHKA'NOQNĔ'' (Osh'kosh), known also as John Oshkosh; was married (name of wife unknown) and had a son—
   I. A'painï'sia (married his cousin Kinō'ke after the death of her husband).
8. KINŌ'KE (Oshk'kosh); was married first to Charles McCall, second to her cousin Ä'painï'sia.

FIG. 2—Portrait of Nio'pet.

9. **REGINALD** (Nio'pet, Osh'kosh); a young man twenty-five years of age, a student in the Normal school at Lawrence, Kansas; his education is quite good, indeed it is considerably beyond the standard usually attained by Indian youth. He is direct heir to the office of chief. He was married to Miss Roey Wilbur (who has some Menomini blood), and has one son, born February 22, 1893.

10. ERNEST. (Nio′pet, Osh′kosh); lives at Keshena, the headquarters of the tribe. He is twenty-one years of age, a steady young man, and promises to make a good citizen.

The preceding list of descendants of Shekâ′tshokwe′man is presented graphically in the diagram on page 52, while the diagram on page 53 presents in a similar manner the genealogy of Thomas Carron, the French Canadian mixed blood, who, with some of his descendants,

FIG. 3—Portrait of Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

has figured so extensively and indeed creditably in the history of the Menomini tribe.

The Carron genealogy is as follows:

1. CARRON (Thomas Carron, or Old Carron, called by the Indians Kä′ron, Ko′rō) was born about the year 1700, probably in the vicinity of Montreal, as he is mentioned as having come from that locality to join the settlement at Green Bay, Wisconsin, shortly after its founding by the Sieur de Langlade and his few companions. Carron was a French trader. He married

Waupesesin ("The Wild Potato"), a sister of a prominent Menomini, was inveigled into taking part with the Indians in Pontiac's scheme for the capture of all the British frontier posts, and was also persuaded to carry among his adopted people a red wampum belt and to invite their assistance. Concerning Carron, Augustin Grignon,[1] says:

> At my father, Pierre Grignon's, then residing at Green Bay, Wau-pe-se-pin was met by Old Carron, who, addressing him, said: "I know the object of your visit, and the purport of Pontiac's message; I want no such message as that, as I mean to do no wrong to my British friends. Is it possible that you, too, are leagued with the Milwaukee band? Go back, then, to your home among them, and let me see your face no more!" Failing to influence his brother-in-law Carron, Wau-pe-se-pin gave up his mission as hopeless, and retired to his cabin, instead of retracing his steps to Milwaukee. While Carron and his faithful Menomonees were on the alert, strictly watching lest the Milwaukee band might attempt some mischief, which, however, they did not dare attempt, at length Lieut. Gorrell, the commandant of the fort, receiving instructions to abandon the post, left Green Bay, guarded to Mackinaw by Carron and a party of Menomonees; and for his faithful adherence to the English, and rejection of the counsels of Pontiac, Carron was subsequently presented with a large silver medal by the British authorities, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good services.

Carron was well liked by the French, and his marriage with a Menomini woman gave him considerable influence with that tribe, so that in 1763 (at the time of Pontiac's preparations for attacking the British posts) he had become speaker for the head chief of the Menomini, Shekâ'tshokwe'mau. "Old Chief," or, as he is termed in history, "The Old King." It appears from Grignon's statement, above cited, that Old Carron, beside having offspring by his Menomini wife, "had two children each by two other women, one of them a Sauk with whom he became acquainted while on a war expedition against either the Osage or Pawnee. He was regarded as the handsomest man among the Menomini." Carron died in 1780, at the age of eighty years. He had the following children, by his Menomini wife—

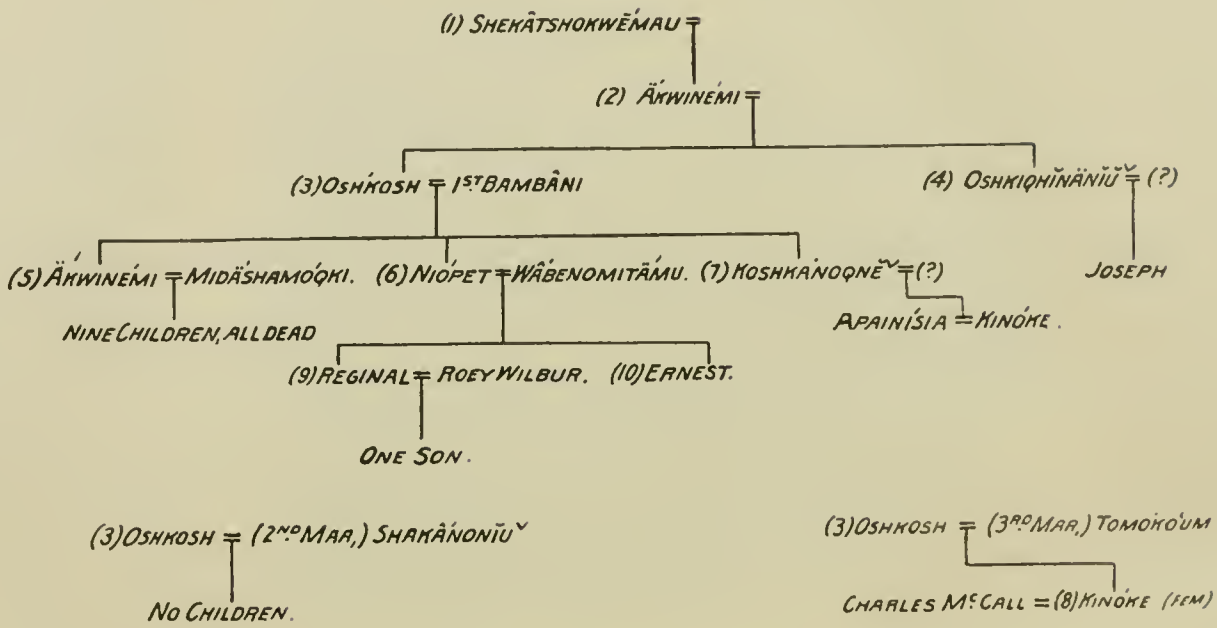
(2) I. Konōt',
(3) II. Tomau',
(4) III. Kä'ron, or Shekwa'nĕne',
(5) IV. Aiâ'mita,

V, VI, VII, daughters, one of whom was named Katīsh'.

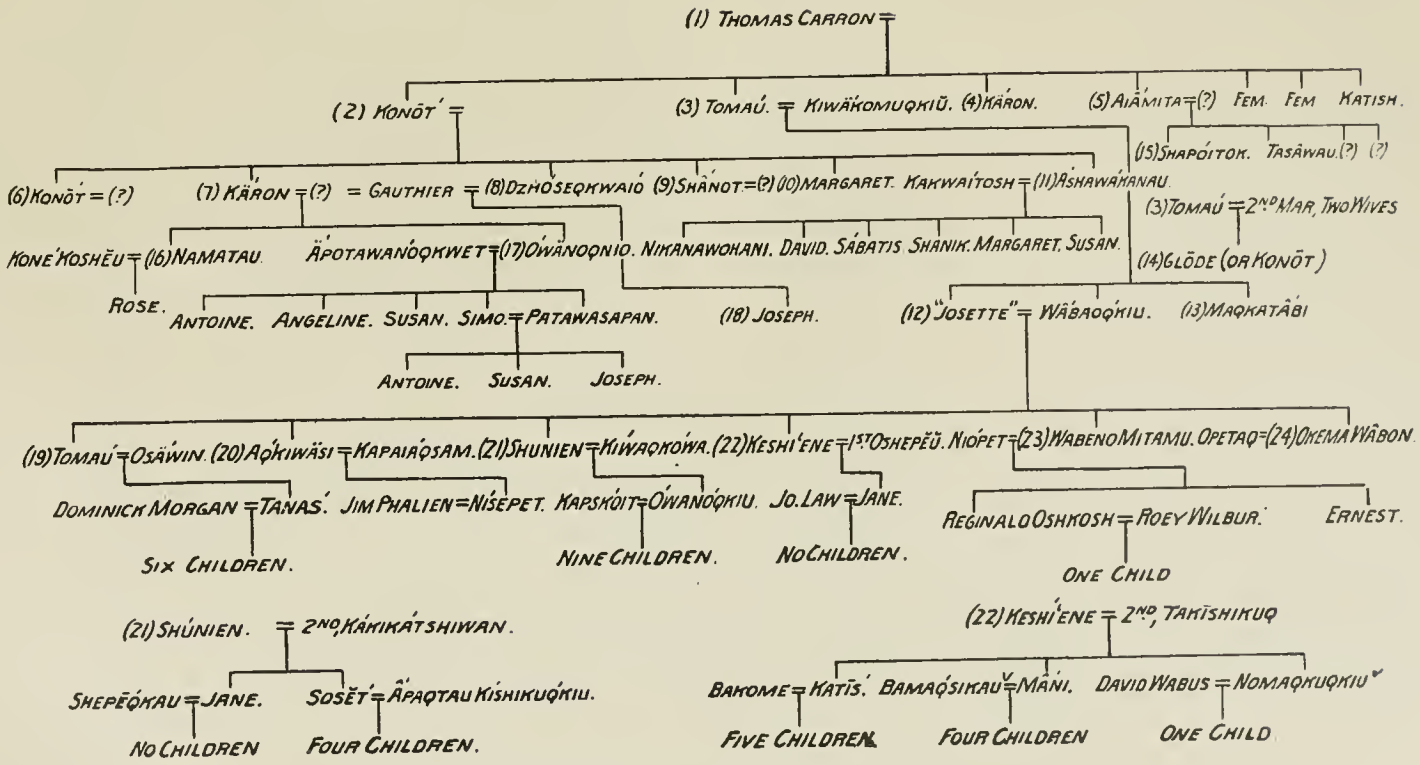
2. KONŌT' (Carron); this word is the Menomini pronunciation for Claude, generally referred to in history as Glode. He was born about 1716, and at the death of his father in 1780 succeeded him as chief.

> About the fall of 1803 Glode went on a winter's hunt, taking his two wives and five or six children with him, and somewhere on or near the

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 226, 227.



GENEALOGY OF SHEKÂTSHOKWĒMAU


(1) THOMAS CARRON =
(2) KONÓT' =
(3) TOMAÚ. = KIWÄ'KOMUQKIŬ. (4) KÄ'RON.
(5) AIÄ'MITA = (?) FEM. FEM KATISH.
(15) SHAPÓITOK. TASÂWAU. (?) (?)
(6) KONÖT = (?)
(7) KÄ'RON = (?) = GAUTHIER = (8) DZHÓSEQKWAIÓ (9) SHÂ'NOT = (?) (10) MARGARET. KAKWAI'TOSH = (11) ASHAWÁ'KANAU.
(3) TOMAÚ = 2ND MAR. TWO WIVES
KONE'KOSHĔU = (16) NAMATAU. ÄPOTAWANÓQKWET = (17) OWÄ'NOQNIO. NIKANAWOHANI. DAVID. SÁBATIS SHANIK. MARGARET. SUSAN.
(14) GLŌDE (OR KONŌT)
ROSE.
ANTOINE. ANGELINE. SUSAN. SIMO. = PATAWASAPAN.
(18) JOSEPH.
(12) "JOSETTE" = WÂBAOQKIU. (13) MAQKATÂBI
ANTOINE. SUSAN. JOSEPH.
(19) TOMAÚ = OSÄ'WIN. (20) AQ'KIWÄSI = KAPAIAQSAM. (21) SHUNIEN = KIWAQKOWA. (22) KESHI'ENE = 1ST OSHEPĔŬ. NIOPET = (23) WABENO MITAMU. OPETAQ = (24) OKEMA WÂBON.
DOMINICK MORGAN = TANAS'. JIM PHALIEN = NISEPET. KAPSKÓIT = O'WANÓQKIU. JO. LAW = JANE.
REGINALO OSHKOSH = ROEY WILBUR. ERNEST.
SIX CHILDREN. NINE CHILDREN. NO CHILDREN.
ONE CHILD
(21) SHÚNIEN. = 2ND, KÁMIKÁTSHIWAN.
(22) KESHI'ENE = 2ND, TAKÎSHIKUQ
SHEPĔQKAU = JANE. SOSĔT = ÂPAQTAU KISHIKUQKIU.
BAKOME = KATÎS'. BAMAQSIKAU = MÁNI. DAVID WABUS = NOMAQKUQKIU
NO CHILDREN FOUR CHILDREN. FIVE CHILDREN. FOUR CHILDREN ONE CHILD

GENEALOGY OF THOMAS CARRON

Menomonee River, of Chippewa, the chief and all his family, save two children by another marriage, sickened and died during the ensuing winter. Glode was then not very far from sixty-four years of age. He was a tall and well-proportioned man, of great personal prowess; sometimes at a ball-play, when two or three would pitch on to him to keep him back, he would dash ahead, not seeming in the least to mind them. As the orator of his nation, he was a fine speaker, and his speeches were sensible and to the purpose. He was a very successful hunter and trapper—accomplishments quite as popular with the Indians, as to be able to speak well on public occasions.[1]

Konōt′ was married, but the name of his wife is not known. He died in 1804, and had children—

(6) I. Konōt′,
(7) II. Kä′ron,
(8) III. Dzhō′seqkwai′o,
(9) IV. Shâ′not,
(10) V. Margaret,
(11) VI. A′shawa′känau.

3. Tomau′ (Carron); known also as Toman, and Tomah. He was born at Old Carron's village, opposite Green Bay, on the western bank of Fox river, about the year 1752.[2] Mr Biddle[3] says he was a British Indian, while Shu′nien (a grandson) informed the present writer that he came from Montreal, his mother in all probability having belonged to the Abnaki tribe. Concerning Toman′ Mr Grignon says:

Tomah was in early life regarded as a chief, and from my earliest recollection, he seemed to be as much respected, and as influential, as Glode, though the latter as his father's successor as chief speaker or orator of the nation, really held the highest rank; and upon Glode's death, in 1804, he became practically the head of the Menomonees, though Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, or *The Old King*, was nominally the head chief, and out-lived Tomah.[4]

Captain Zebulon M. Pike[5] met Toman′ in the spring of 1806, above Clearwater river, on the upper Mississippi, where Toman and a large band of Fols Avoin (Menomini) were engaged in their winter hunt. He says of him: "This Thomas is a fine fellow, of a very masculine figure, noble and animated delivery, and appears to be very much attached to the Americans." He remarks furthermore: "This chief was an extraordinary hunter; to instance his power, he killed forty elk and a bear in one day; chasing the former from dawn to eve."

Mr James W. Biddle, in his Recollections of Green Bay in 1816–17, remarks:

Tecumseh in 1810 or 1811, when forming his great combination for driving the Americans back, who like the waves of the sea, were encroaching

[1] Grignon, in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 266, 267.
[2] Ibid., p. 267.
[3] Ibid. vol. i, pp. 49–63.
[4] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 267.
[5] An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc., Philadelphia, 1810, pp. 77, 78.

upon their hunting grounds, visited Green Bay, obtained a council and hearing from Tomah and his people, whom he addressed in a manner he best knew how to do; and in the course of which, in true Indian spirit, he pictured the glory, as well as certainty of success, and as omens of this, recapitulated to them his own hitherto prosperous career—the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of warrior-foes. Tomah appeared sensible of the influence of such an address upon his people, and feared its consequence, for he was opposed to leading them into war. His reply was in a tone to allay this feeling, and he closed with the remark to them, that they had heard the words of Tecumseh—heard of the battles he had fought, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken. He then paused; and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly raised his hands, with his eyes fixed on them, and in a lower, but not less prouder tone, continued "*But it is my boast that these hands are unstained with human blood!*" The effect is described as tremendous—nature obeyed her own impulse, and admiration was forced even from those who could not, or did not, approve of the moral to be implied, and the gravity of the council was disturbed, for an instant, by a murmur of approbation—a tribute to genius, overpowering, at the moment, the force of education and of habit. He concluded with remarking, that he had ever supported the policy of peace, as his nation was small and consequently weak; that he was fully aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians, and for them feared its consequences, but that he saw no relief for it in going to war, and therefore, as a national thing, he would not do so, but that if any of his young men were desirous of leaving their hunting grounds, and following Tecumseh, they had his permission to do so. His prudent counsels prevailed.[1]

Tomau′ and probably a hundred of his warriors accompanied Colonel Robert Dickson, in 1812, in the capture from the Americans of Fort Mackinaw, though they did not have any fighting. During this expedition Osh′kosh, subsequently head chief of the tribe, was placed under Tomau′'s special care. He and a number of chiefs also accompanied Proctor and Dickson in the attack on the fort at Sandusky. In 1814, with about eighty of his Menomini, he again accompanied Colonel Dickson to Mackinaw. They took an efficient part in the battle in which the American commander, Major Holmes, fell.

Mr Biddle affirms that Tomau′ had no hereditary claim to the chieftaincy:

> This was held, at the time, by a man nearly as old as himself, who was an idiot, but who they always took with them in their excursions. Tomau merely ruled as the acknowledged strongest man of the nation, and this he had continued to do for a great many years.[2]

There is a slight difference of opinion as to the date of the death of Tomau′, Jedidiah Morse[3] giving the date of this event as July 8, 1818, Biddle[4] also observing that the tombstone on

[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, pp. 53, 54.
[2] Ibid., p. 53.
[3] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 53.
[4] Op. cit., i, p. 58.

Mackinaw island bears this date, whereas Mr. Grignon[1] remarks:

> It was in the summer of 1817, the next year after the arrival of the Americans, that Tomah died at Mackinaw, at the age of about sixty-five years. I fully agree with Mr. Biddle, that it was in 1817 that he died. He was about six feet in height, spare, with a dark-colored eye, and handsome features, and very prepossessing; he was, in truth, the finest looking chief I have ever known of the Menomonees or any other tribe. His speeches were not lengthy, but pointed and expressive. He was firm, prudent, peaceable and conciliatory. He was sincerely beloved alike by whites and Indians.

Biddle says that Tomau′ died of excessive drinking under disappointment and mortification over a change in the policy of the British authorities in their treatment of the Indians. He adds:[2]

> I was present at his funeral. . . . I never saw so distressed and broken-hearted a people. They said they were no longer a nation—no longer anything. Tomah could alone command and keep them together, but now they would be scattered and lost.

Tomau′ was of the Pä′kää′qkiu, or Prairie-chicken dodä′mi, and was married, first, to Kiwä′komu′qkĭñ[x] ("Wandering around"), a Menomini woman by whom he had two sons—

(12) I. Josette.

(13) II. Mâ′qkatâ′bi.

Separating from this wife he formed, according to Grignon, a second marriage, with two sisters, with both of whom he lived at the same time and until they died. By one of these he had four children, the son being—

(14) III. Glode.

4. KĂ′RON (Carron); known also by his Menomini name as She′kwanĕ′ne, concerning whom neither traditional nor historical information of interest is obtainable.

5. AIÂ′MITA (Carron). Grignon, speaking of this chief in 1854,[3] says

> I-om-e-tah was born about 1772. . . . He was upon the war-path during the war of 1812–'15. He has been a very good hunter in his day. . . . He is among a very few Menomonees who contract debts, and pay them as they promise. He is the oldest chief of his nation, being now about eighty-five; his hunting days are past, his sight is growing dim, and his manly form and benignant countenance we shall soon see no more.

Aiâ′mita was still alive in 1857, and only one of three children remains—

(15) I. Shâpoi′tŏk (was married to Ta′sâwau, and has children).

6. KONOT′ (Konōt′): known also as Glode, a corruption of Claude. Was married to an Ojibwa woman and moved away.

[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1857, vol. iii, p. 283.

[2] Ibid., vol. I 1855, pp. 56, 57.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 284.

7. KÄ'RON (Konōt'). Was named after his grandfather, old Carron, and born in 1797. He married and had children—
   (16) I. Na'matan.
   (17) II. O'wäno'qnio (daughter).
8. DZHŌ'SEQKWAI'O (Konōt'); corruption of the word Josephine. Married a Mr Gauthier, and had one son—
   (18) I. Joseph.
9. SHÂNŌ'T (Konōt'). Female, died unmarried.
10. MARGARET (Konōt'). Female, died unmarried.
11. A'SHAWA'KÄNAU (Konōt'). Female; married Käkwai'tosh, a mixed-blood Ottawa, and had children—
   I. Nika'nawoha'ni,
   II. David,
   III. Sa'batis (Jean Baptiste),
   IV. Sha'nik,
   V. Margaret,
   VI. Susan.
12. JOSETTE (Tomau'); known also as Sosette, and as Joseph Carron; was born in 1800. He is of the Pä'kää'qkiu, or Prairie-chicken dodä'mi; married Wâ'bao'qkiu ("White-wing"), and succeeded his father to the chieftaincy. He died in 1831, leaving children—
   (19) I. Tomau',
   (20) II. A'qkiwä'si,
   (21) III. Shu'nien,
   (22) IV. Kesh'i'ĕne,
   (23) V. Wâ'beno mitä'mu,
   (24) VI. O'kemawâ'bon,
   (25) VII. Kosēv'.
13. MÂ'QKATÂ'BI (Tomau', Carron). Grignon, in his Seventy-two Years' Recollection of Green Bay says that Tomau' had two sons by his first wife, both of whom became chiefs, "Mau-kau-tau-pee" and Josette Carron; and that "Mau-kau-tau-pee," who served on McKay's Prairie du Chien expedition, died in, or shortly after, 1820. In repeated conferences with both Shu'nien, an exceedingly intelligent man, a brother of Mâ'qkatâ'bi and Josette Carron, and in councils of leading men of the tribe, I am informed that Mâ'qkatâ'bi never held the office of chief, as successor to Tomau', but that he had acted as regent for Osh'kosh. He died about 1820, without offspring.
14. GLODE (Tomau', Carron), a corruption of the word Claude. He was of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi, and a son of Tomau' by the second wife. He died in 1848 without offspring.
16. NA'MATAM (Kä'ron, Konōt', Carron); a daughter who married Kone'koshĕ'u, and has one daughter—
   1. Rose (unmarried).

17. OWĂ'NOQNI'O (Kä'ron. Konōt', Carron); a daughter, married to Ă'potawa'noqkwēt, and has children—
    I. Antoine,
    II. Angeline,
    III. Susan.
    IV. Si'mo (married Pa'tawa'sapan) and has children—
        a. Antoine,
        b. Susan,
        c. Joseph.

18. JOSEPH (Dzhō'seqkwai'o, Konōt', Carron); was born about 1818. He was married, and had one son, who died. His wife was the widow of a white trader, named Cown, with whom she had children who took the name of Gauthier—
    I. Joseph, married to Julia Grignon, and has offspring—
        a. Frank (married Mary Driscoll, a native of Ireland, and has one son, Joseph Aloysius, aged one year).
        b. Mary Ann.
        c. John,
        d. Lewis,
        e. Christine, died at age of 8 or 10 years.

19. TOMAU' (Josette); corruption of the word Thomas. He is of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; married Osä'win ("Yellow") and had one daughter—
    I. Tanä's (Theresa—married Dominick Morgan and had six children).

20. A'QKIWĂ'SI (Josette); known as Charles Carron; also of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; married Ka'paia'qsam. He left for the Ojibwa country, and has not since been heard of. He left one child—
    I. Ni'sepĕt (Elizabeth Maria), who was married to "Jim" Phalien, (deceased), and left no issue.

21. SHU'NIEN (Josette). Shu'nien ("Silver") was born in 1827, and is today one of the finest figures, physically, among the Menomini (figure 1). He is of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; has been recognized as a chief of his band, and has made several trips to Washington on missions relating to the tribe. He was married twice; his first wife was Kī'waqko'wa ("Wandering-in-the-clouds"), who had one child—
    I. Owano'qiu (a daughter, who married Kapsko'ic (deceased) and had nine children of whom six survive).

    Shu'nien's second wife was Ka'kika'tshiwan, of the Ota'tshia (Crane) dodä'mi, and had issue—
    II. Jane (married to Shepe'qkau; no children).
    III. Sosē't (Sosette=Joseph) (commonly known as "Jim" Shu'nien, a man of fine build and an enthusiastic mitä'ᵛ dancer; he married Ă'paqtau Ki'shiku'qkiu, and has two sons and two daughters).

22. KESHI'ĒNE (Josette); was born about 1830, and succeeded his father as chief, though during his minority Osh'kosh acted as regent. The word Keshi'ne, signifying "The-swift-flying," originated in the following manner, as related by Shu'nien, his brother: Their father, Josette, was at one time fasting, and in a vision he thought he saw the air filled with eagles and hawks, the representatives of the Thunder phratry, flying swiftly by. This circumstance caused him to give the name "The-swift-flying," to his next male child, born shortly afterward. Kesh-

FIG. 4—Portrait of Shu'nien.

i'ēne was twice married, the first wife, Oshē'pe'ŭ ("River") having offspring—

I. O'kwemu'qkīu (=Jane, married to Joseph Law; no children). Keshi'ēne's second wife was Tâkī'shiku'q ("Broken-clouds"), and her children were—

II. Katī's (married Bakome, and has five children).

III. Mâ'ni (=Mary, married to Bama'qsikä'nᵛ, and has four children).

IV. Noma'qkuqkī'ŭᵛ (Female, deceased after marriage to David Wabūs, leaving one female child).

23. WÂ'BENO MITÄ'MU (Josette) "Wâ'beno-woman." Was born about 1840, and is an active, well preserved, and quite good looking woman. She is married to Nio'pet, the present chief of the Menomini,[1] and is the mother of fourteen children of whom but two survive—
    I. Reginald Osh'kosh.
    II. Ernest Osh'kosh.
24. O'KEMAWÂ'NON (Josette—daughter, married Opē'taq, has two children).
25. KOSĒ'Y (Josette—a young man).

As already stated, the Osh'kosh family at present, and evidently legitimately, furnishes the executive chief of the tribe, which personage is at the same time the presiding judge of the Indian court at Keshena. The members of the Carron family have no further authority in the affairs of the tribe than any other heads of families, though the recollection of the deeds of their ancestors appears to add to their name a glamor of romance, shared in even by their political opponents.

LANGUAGE EMPLOYED IN CULT RITUALS

I am informed by the Franciscan fathers at Keshena that they have frequent need of words to express clearly the terminology of the catechism and ritual and to present intelligently the exposition of the scriptures, words which do not occur in Menomini, but for which they seek convenient and expressive terms in Ojibwa, a language noted at once for its close linguistic relationship to the Menomini, as well as for its rich vocabulary and the remarkable flexibility of its grammatic structure.

In his notes on the Indian tribes of Wisconsin,[2] John Gilmary Shea, speaking of the Menomini, states that "their language is a very corrupt form of the Algonquin." This may not be surprising when the Menomini language is compared with the Algonkin proper, but still the fact remains that the Menomini appeared to him defective in some manner or other.

Through long-continued practice of this character, the Indians have become sufficiently familiar with some Ojibwa words to comprehend the teachings of the fathers, but apart from this an Ojibwa conversation is almost entirely unintelligible to the Menomini, unless the language of the former had been specially acquired by intimate communication.

It has been observed at the ceremonials of the Menomini that both Ojibwa and Potawatomi mitäi'y visitors participated, and although their knowledge of Menomini was so slight as to deter them from enjoying more than casual interchange of greetings, yet they were sufficiently

[1] See the Osh kosh genealogy, p. 48.
[2] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 134.

apt in acquiring the words of a chant, never before heard by them, to join after two or three repetitions and assist as if they had known it always. Thus these strangers unconsciously acquire a vocabulary at first of unknown meaning to them, but by repetition and association with actions and familiar gestures they ultimately become sufficiently advanced to comprehend the new language limited to this ceremonial.

From the foregoing remarks it will be observed that the ceremonials of the cult societies may be tinctured, to greater or less degree, by the intrusion of extra-tribal ritualistic traditions and beliefs, the ceremonial forms of the Ojibwa, however, being considerably in excess of those of any other tribe.

For many years there has been constant intercourse between the Menomini and the Ojibwa of Lac Court Oreille and Lac Flambeau, on account of occasional intermarriage between these tribes and the mutual attendance at the cult ceremonies. It appears probable, also, that on account of this intercourse the Menomini ritual of the Mitä'wit, or Grand Medicine society, has been very perceptibly molded after the Ojibwa, but that during this process of adaptation much of the ancient ritual has been lost.

A great portion of the phraseology of the Ojibwa ritual is in an archaic form of language, and is thus unintelligible to the ordinary Indian, and frequently to many members of the society. This archaic phraseology naturally appears impressive and important to the general populace, and the shamans delight to dwell on such phrases, during ceremonials, not only to impress their hearers but to elevate themselves as well.

Honorable W. W. Warren, in his History of the Ojibwa Indians, says:

> In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended, not orally, but in hieroglyphics, for at least a long line of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common every-day use.[1]

The Menomini ceremonies of the same society are, as above stated, very much curtailed, and apparently worn down by careless transmission from generation to generation. The chants are, in general, in Menomini, though that portion of the ritual pertaining to the Indian cosmogony and genesis of mankind is to a great extent mixed with Ojibwa words, and is therefore unintelligible to almost every one save those familiar with this language.

It has already been shown with what persistency the Menomini and the Winnebago Indians have dwelt side by side from the earliest historical times, and it is a subject of interest to know with what surprising similarity these two tribes have, up to a recent period, conducted their medicine ceremonials. The entire ritual and its dramatization appear to be of Algonquian elaboration; and the adaptation thereof

[1] Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, 1885, p. 67.

by the Winnebago, a tribe belonging to another linguistic stock, would be so readily accomplished only when the tribes are in constant and intimate communication.[1]

The Ojibwa embellishments in the Winnebago ritual appear to have been acquired through the intermediary of the Menomini rather than from the Ojibwa direct, as the Siouan tribes in general have at all times been more or less antagonistic to the Algonquian tribes, and vice versa, excepting the Menomini, who appear always to have been of a peaceful disposition.

There is another class of mystery men, or shamans, differing from the mitä'ᵛ, of which representatives are found among nearly all the Algonquian tribes even at this day. Such persons are termed tshi'saqka, or jugglers, and are referred to in the Jesuit Relations as *jongleurs* and *sorciers*. The Nepissing Indians of Canada were even designated the Nation of Sorcerers as early as 1632, and the tales recited regarding them and their powers are of the most marvelous character. This subject will be more definitely referred to in connection with the subject the of tshi'saqka. There is no special organization among these performers, each preferring to act independently of the other, and it is only during the performance of the invocation of guardians or ma'nidos that pretended conversation with the latter takes place, such pretended conversation consisting in reality of a soliloquy, the questions of the juggler being answered apparently in another tone of voice and indeed sometimes in mumbled words wholly unintelligible in character.

The language employed by a juggler is the language of the tribe of which he is a member; and to acquire the power of prophecy and to become able to cause manifestations of various kinds, it is necessary to receive instruction from some one of reputed skill. His power is furthermore dependent upon the reputed power of his personal ma'nido, or tutelary daimon, which was selected by him in accordance with dreams, consequent upon fasting, which ordeal was experienced during his youth.

There is still another class of shamans, known as the wâ'beno, i. e., "daylight men," or "men of the dawn," who pretend to cure disease by the administration of charmed remedies. The number of wâ'benōak as compared with the mitä'wok is small, the whole number in the Menomini tribe not exceeding ten or twelve. Singular as it may seem, there are more women wâ'benōak than men, though it appears that in former times the reverse was the case. The performances consisted in handling burning brands and live coals with apparent immunity from harm, thus gaining the attention and confidence of the credulous, after which their charms, amulets, or fetishes were sold, as

[1] Since writing the above, Mr Frank La Flesche, of Washington, son of the late Joseph La Flesche, one of the chiefs of the Omaha Indians, informs me that his tribe acquired the ritual of the Grand Medicine society from the Winnebago.

required by the unsuccessful hunter, the disconsolate lover, or the unlucky gambler.

No organization exists between the different persons of this class, each practicing his art, or pretensions, as best he may. A tambourine drum is necessary as an accompaniment to the chant, as the personal manido is thus invoked for aid in the accomplishment of whatever task may have been assigned to the performer. More specific mention of the method of practice of these shamans will be presented under the caption of "The Wâ'beno."

Since the advent of the Paiute messiah, "Jack Wilson," a new society has been organized, designated the "Dreamers' society," i. e., a society for indulgence in drumming, dancing, and exhortation by certain designated persons, to form the order of exercises. Some of the mitä'wŏk, who, for various reasons, have left the Medicine society, claim that the Dreamers' society is founded on a ritual specially granted by Kishä' Mä'nidō as a substitute for the former, that being alleged to have become degraded and debased by the introduction of innovations. Inquiry into the history of the society seems to indicate, however, that the performances by the Dreamers' society are a remote imitation of the Ghost dance, which originated several years since when the Paiute messiah made his appearance, and when many discontented and belligerent young men of various tribes took advantage of the craze to further their own designs.

Some Menomini Indians more communicative than others have intimated that a time would surely come when the whole country would be restored to the Indian as it once was, when the heads of all the whites would be severed from their bodies as a scythe cuts the wheat. This belief has always had a greater or less number of believers who were in a state of expectancy, so that when a delegation of Sioux and other Menomini river Indians arrived among the Menomini to preach the doctrine of the messiah and to give instruction in the dance, the expectant ones were ready to accept almost anything that appealed to their indefinite and unformed tradition. The ceremony conducted at these dances is not of the same character as that of the Ghost dance of the prairie Indians, sufficient change having been wrought since its introduction to prevent any apparent analogy between the two.

To further illustrate the quickness with which such advantages for deception may be embraced by designing and deceitful Indians, I shall only recur to Sitting Bull of the Sioux nation, a medicine man of no mean order—as viewed by his people—but not a chief in the full sense of the word, as generally supposed from the newspaper notoriety given him. During my residence among these Indians in 1872–73, I had ample opportunity to become well acquainted with him, particularly after acquiring the language and an ultimate adoption into the "Buffalo society," by which means a "brotherhood" was formed with Running Antelope, then orator of the northern Sioux and chief of the Unepapa branch of that tribe.

Sitting Bull was general director of the discontented element of the Sioux nation, and acquired his influence by his audacious pretensions and by the coincident occurrence of events of minor importance, as well as by the occurrence of certain atmospheric changes which he had, in part, prophesied. Attaining some distinction in this manner, he cautiously pushed his claim to greater powers, stating that he was enabled to foretell events affecting himself and his adherents. He pretended that his deceased half-brother always appeared to him in the guise of a gray wolf to warn him of any impending personal danger. In fact, this man is said to have once gone so far as to allow himself to be discovered by some officers talking to a wolf which had, in utter astonishment, stopped to learn the source and nature of the peculiar noise which so suddenly broke the silence of the locality!

When the attack was made upon our cavalry escort in 1873, in Yellowstone valley, Sitting Bull was foremost in the approaching line, chanting and "making medicine," but when one of his chief assistants was shot down the line wavered and broke the moment the troops charged. Later on, as the Ghost dance became a better means of having his aids act the part of prophets, Sitting Bull's words were promulgated through the mouths of the chief dancers who had apparently fainted and reached an ecstatic state. In this wise the hostility of a certain portion of the tribe was maintained and controlled, chiefly for personal gain, until the death of Sitting Bull, when the spell was broken.

Until quite recently it was customary for each Indian youth to pass through a certain process of "fasting and dreaming," whereby he might receive a manifestation from the Great Unknown as to what particular animate form he might adopt as his own tutelary daimon, as termed by the Greeks, or, as more familiarly designated, his guardian mystery. The course of procedure necessary for the young aspirant for honors to pursue was to leave the camp and go into the forest, there to remain in meditation, abstaining from all food, until gradual exhaustion produced that condition of ecstasy during which various forms of animals, or birds, appeared to him. The first of these forms to clearly impress itself on his mind was adopted as the special gift of the Great Mystery, and was thereafter supposed to act as an adviser in times of indecision; a monitor when the Indian was in danger, or an intercessor with the superior ma'nidos when special power or influence was desired. During the period of probation the lad's friends or parents would keep watch that no danger overtook him while in the forest, and furthermore, that his fasting was not carried to the point of danger to life and health.

Among some of the Algonquian tribes the animal or bird forms that may thus be adopted by an Indian are sometimes the same as the totem of which he is a member. Under such circumstances the animal representing the totem, and the "familiar" or ma'nido, is seldom hunted or

shot; but should he be permitted to hunt such an animal the hunter will first address the animal and ask forgiveness for killing him, telling him that certain portions, which are tabu, shall be set up in the place of honor in the wikō'mik. For instance, should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place.[1] Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for anyone to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside.

Due reverence must be had by the Indian for his so-called guardian or ma'nido, neglect in this direction sometimes being considered as the direct cause of misfortune or sickness. A feast then becomes necessary as an offering to induce the ma'nido to return and to again manifest its favor to the Indian. Without going further into this special subject, as it obtains among the tribe under discussion, it may be interesting to present in this connection an account of the striking similarity of belief in the ma'nido, or *nagual*, of the Mexicans, as given by Herrera, who, in speaking of the religion and superstitions of the inhabitants of Cerquin, in Honduras, says:

Among the many Idols worshipp'd, there was one call'd, The great Father, and another, The great Mother, of whom they begg'd Health; to other Gods they pray'd for Wealth, Relief in Distress, to supply them with Provisions, breed up their Children, preserve their Harvest, and assist them in their Improvements, which Superstitions continu'd long among the old Men; and the Devil deluded them, appearing in the Shape of a Lion, or a Tiger, or a Coyte, a Beast like a Wolf, or in the Shape of an Alligator, a Snake, or a Bird, that Province abounding in Creatures of Prey, which they call'd *Naguales*, signifying, Keepers, or Guardians, and when the Bird dy'd the *Indian* that was in League with him dy'd also, which often hapned, and was looked upon as infallible. The manner of contracting this Alliance was thus, the *Indian* repair'd to the River, Wood, Hill, or most obscure Place, where he call'd upon the Devils by such Names as he thought fit, talk'd to the Rivers, Rocks, or Woods, said, he went to weep, that he might have the same his Predecessors had, carrying a Cock, or a Dog to sacrifice. In that melancholy fit he fell a sleep, and either in a Dream, or Waking, saw some one of the aforesaid Birds, or other Creatures, whom he intreated to grant him Profit in Salt, Cacao, or any other Commodity, drawing Blood from his own Tongue, Ears, and other Parts of his Body, making his Contract at the same Time with the said Creature, the which, either in a Dream, or Waking, told him,

[1] The Abbé J. A. Maurault says of the totemic marks of the Abnaki: "Chaque tribu avait ses armoiries, que consistaient en la figure d'un animal, ou d'un oiseau, ou d'un poisson. Chaque guerrier peignait ordinairement sur ses bras, ses jambes et sa poitrine les armes de sa tribu. Quant les sauvages allaient en voyage ou en excursion, ils peignaient leurs armes sur des arbres à chaque campement, surtout lorsqu'ils avaient réussi dans quelque campagne. Ils faisaient aussi connaître, par ce moyen, le nombre de leurs prisonniers et celui des chevelures qu'ils avaient levées."—Hist. des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, p. 23.

such a Day you shall go abroad a sporting, and I will be the first Bird, or other Animal you shall meet, and will be your *Nagual*, and Companion at all Times, whereupon such Friendship was contracted between them, that when one of they dy'd the other did not survive, and they fancy'd that he who had no Nagual could not be rich.[1]

The Abbé Maurault[2] says of this belief among the Abnaki Indians of Canada, a tribe allied linguistically to the Menomini:

Comme toutes les autres nations sauvages, ils avaient une idée de la Divinité. Dieu, suivant eux, était un Grand-Esprit, qu'ils appelaient "Ketsi NiSask^{w}." Ce Grand-Esprit résidait sur une île du grand lac (l'Océan Atlantique). Ils avaient une grande confiance en sa protection. Ils croyaient que le meilleur moyen pour attirer sur eux cette protection était de s'efforcer à devenir de braves guerriers et de bons chasseurs, étant persuadés que plus ils se rendaient remarquables en ces deux choses, plus ils devenaient agréables aux yeux du Grand-Esprit.

Ils croyaient aussi à l'Esprit du Mal, qu'ils appelaient "Matsi NiSask^{w}." Cet Esprit était très-puissant dans le monde. Ils pensaient que les maladies, les accidents, les malheurs et tous les autres maux de ce genre venaient de lui. Comme ils craignaient beaucoup ces maux, l'Esprit du Mal était le principal objet de leur dévotion, et ils s'adressaient sans cesse à lui, le priant de ne leur faire aucun mal.

Ils croyaient, en outre, qu'il y avait d'autres Esprits, d'un ordre supérieur à l'homme; que ces Esprits étaient toujours portés au bien, et qu'ils protégeaient l'homme contre l'Esprit du Mal; c'est pourquoi, ils leur demandaient protection.

CULT SOCIETIES

To present more intelligibly the ritualistic observances and pretensions of the several classes of shamans, the subject will be arranged under the following captions:

I. Mitä'wit, or Grand Medicine society;
II. Tshi'saqka, or Juggler;
III. Wâ'beno, or Men of the Dawn, and
IV. Dreamers' society.

MITÄ'WIT, OR GRAND MEDICINE SOCIETY

Organization of the Society

In order to present clearly to the reader the status of the Mitä'wit, or so-called "Grand Medicine society,"[3] of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, it becomes necessary to refer briefly to the corresponding society and ritualistic ceremonies of the Ojibwa Indians of Minnesota. Among the latter are found four classes of mystery men, viz, (1) midē', or "medicine man," whose profession is incantation, exorcism of demons, and the administration of shamanic or magic remedies; (2) the je'ssakkid, or juggler, who professes prophecy and antagonizes the evil charms of rivals; (3) the wâ'beno, literally "easterner," or "daylight man," whose orgies are continued throughout the night only to cease

[1] The General History of that Vast Continent and Islands of America, translated by Capt. John Stevens, London, 1726, vol. iv, pp. 138, 139.

[2] Histoire des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, pp. 18–19. It will be observed that the abbé falls into the prevailing misapprehension as to the conception of spirituality among the Indians.

[3] This term originates in the designation "la grande medecine," applied to this society by the Canadians and early French explorers.

at the approach of day, and who also professes ability to prepare lucky charms for the hunter and potent love powders for the disappointed lover; and (4) the mashkikikewinini, or herbalist, who professes knowledge of the properties of plants, and administers, as the name implies, "medicine broths" or decoctions and infusions. All of these, save the midē′, practice their respective professions singly and alone, and therefore do not affiliate with others of like pretensions so as to constitute a regularly organized society, at the meetings of which the members hold ceremonial services for the instruction and initiation of candidates for membership.

The midē′, on the contrary, are organized into a society termed the Midē′wiwin, which consists of an indefinite number of persons of both sexes, and is graded into four separate and distinct degrees. Admission to membership in the degrees of this society is a matter of great importance, and consequently of great difficulty. The male candidates are selected usually from among those who in their youth were designated for this distinction, which occurred at the period of "giving a name" by a selected midē′ priest, who thus assumed the office of godfather. From that date until the age of puberty of the boy, his parents gather presents with which to defray the expenses of preliminary instruction by hired midē′ priests, and the feasts to be given to all those who might attend the ceremonies of initiation, as well as to defray the personal services of the various medicine men directly assisting in the initiation. Frequently the collecting of skins and peltries and other goods that have to be purchased involves a candidate hopelessly in debt; but so great is the desire on the part of some Indians to become acknowledged medicine men that they will assume obligations that may require years of labor or hunting to liquidate; or, should they fail, then their relatives are expected to assume the responsibility thus incurred.

In this society, as maintained by the Ojibwa, are preserved the traditions relating to cosmogony and genesis of mankind, to the appearance on the earth of an anthropomorphic deity whose primary services consisted of interceding between Ki′tshi Ma′nido and the Indians, that the latter might be taught the means wherewith they might provide themselves with the good things of the earth and with the power of warding off disease and death, and who gave to the Indian also the various plants and instructed them how to prepare the objects necessary to be used for special purposes in specified ways. The being who thus originally instructed the Indians is called Mī′nabō′zho, and the method pursued by him is dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society of the Midē′. By the Ojibwa this entire proceeding is firmly believed to be of a sacred or religious character.

There is another body among the Ojibwa termed the Ghost society, to which reference is necessary. When a child who has been set apart to be dedicated to the society of the Midē′ dies before reaching the

proper age to receive initiation, the father (or under certain circumstances the mother) announces the fact to the chief priests, when a meeting of the members is called and a feast prepared at the wigwam of the mourner. Dishes of food for the dead are set apart in a separate structure, after which the chief mourner is initiated into the society as a substitute for the deceased. Thus we find among the Ojibwa two distinct services, one for the initiation of members into the society of the Midē′, the other a feast of the dead, designed to release his "shadow" and to permit it to depart to the land of mysteries, or the place of the setting sun.

It will be observed, then, that the membership of the Midē′ society is not limited to any particular number of persons; and that the ceremonies of the Ghost society are held at irregular intervals and never at the death of a member of the Midē′ society.

With this brief notice of the Ojibwa Midē′wiwin, or Grand Medicine society, a description of the ceremonies as practiced by the Menomini Indians will be presented for the purpose of comparing with the preceding their version and dramatic rendering of a belief and practice which no doubt survives to a certain degree among the greater number of tribes embraced within the western group of the Algonquian linguistic family.

The Mitä′wit, or society of shamans, commonly termed the Grand Medicine society of the Menomini Indians, consists of men, women, and a few young boys and girls, who have been initiated into the mysteries of that organization, either directly or by proxy. Initiation of the person himself may be accomplished (1) by his being adopted by a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; or (2) when proof of eligibility has been furnished and the necessary presents and fees are delivered to the chief of the society to defray the expenses incurred in holding the ceremonies.

Although initiation by proxy is rare, yet it may occur when a very sick young person is brought to the ceremonial structure for restoration to health. This is done only as a last resort, and after the usual attendance of shamans with their incantations and exorcisms has proved futile. The aid of Mashä′ Ma′nido is thus sought, and as the sick child may be carried in the arms of one already a mitä′ᵉ, it is soon deposited in the arms of one of the family, while the person who carried it continues to take the part of a new candidate, notwithstanding the fact that he already possesses the secrets. Should the patient recover health, he or she is thenceforth regarded as a regularly initiated member, although subsequent instruction is necessary to a better understanding of the pretensions of the society. It is customary on the death of a member of the society for the head of the family of the deceased, if he be a mitä′ᵉ, or the nearest mitä′ᵉ relation or friend, to approach the corpse at burial and to address it. The chief mourner, looking down upon the coarse box containing the remains, says: "Go.

my brother [or substituting the term of relationship], follow the sun to the place prepared for the shades of the dead, where you will see the fire built by Na'qpote; that will light your course beyond the sun's path. Abide there until the proper time [a certain period of a summer month is usually named], when I shall give a feast and bring a substitute to occupy your place; then shall Na'qpote permit you to return to observe the fulfillment of my promise. Go!" The grave box is then placed over the coffin, the medicine stick erected before it, and a piece of cloth or a board is also placed before the grave box, on which is deposited from time to time small quantities of tobacco.

At the return of summer the person who has made the promise of procuring a substitute prepares himself by bringing together the presents necessary to be delivered as fees, and collecting food for the attendants and visitors. A favorite member of the family, a relation, or even a dear friend, may receive the honor of an invitation to become the candidate. In the meantime the furnisher of the feast, i. e., the person who is to procure the candidate, makes known to the chief officiating members of the society his choice, with the desire that a meeting time for initiatory purposes be decided upon, to be held at some time in the near future. The chiefs receive this communication and deliberate, meditating on the course to follow and selecting several groups of assistants to aid in the ceremonies. The candidate, in the meantime, is instructed in the mysteries of the remedies known to his instructor. Each remedy must be paid for separately, as no two preparations, or roots, or other substances are classed together as one; furthermore, the knowledge relating to different remedies is possessed by different medicine men, each of whom will dispose of the properties and uses thereof for a consideration only.

Although four annual ceremonies of the Grand Medicine society were held near Keshena, Wisconsin, in the years 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893, the first will be described only insofar as it pertains to the mode of adopting a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; and to make the description more intelligible it may be of importance to state under what circumstances the writer's admission into the Mitä'wit was obtained.

Ceremonies of 1890

Having obtained during the years 1887–1890, from the Ojibwa Indians at Red Lake and White Earth, Minnesota, complete instruction in the secrets and ceremonies of the Midē'wiwin, or Grand Medicine society, the information of this unique occurrence had spread southward into Wisconsin, as far as the Menomini reservation. In the winter of 1889–90, a number of these Ojibwa shamans went to Washington in the interest of their tribe, and it happened that a small delegation of Menomini Indians from Keshena, Wisconsin, also visited the capital on a like errand. These two delegations were furthermore quartered at the same house, so that the object of my constant visits to,

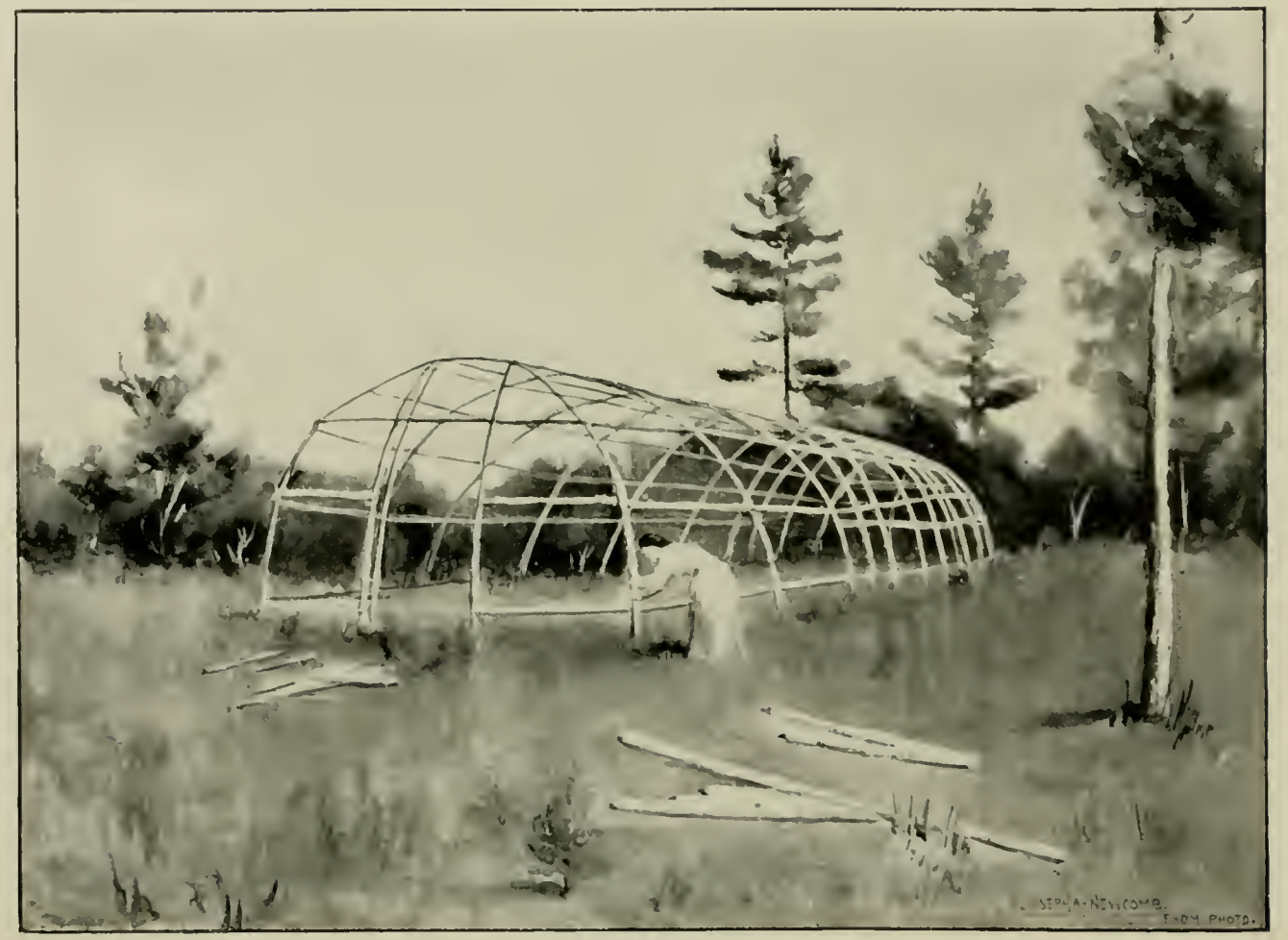
and consultations with, the Ojibwa soon became known to the Menomini, who at once manifested great interest, as they themselves were members of the society of shamans. The Ojibwa then informed the Menomini of what had been done with reference to the preservation of the traditions and ritual of the Ojibwa society, and suggested to the former the propriety of having the Government publish the Menomini version of the Grand Medicine ceremonies, thus preserving for future generations their ancient beliefs and practices concerning the origin of the Indians, the history of the services of Mä′näbūsh, and the institution and initiatory ceremonies of the Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society.

Three members of the Menomini delegation were chiefs of the society, and as such were competent to decide whether it would be appropriate and in accordance with their ancient custom to permit the admission into the society of a white man and stranger. After protracted deliberation, I was informed that in so far as they were personally concerned they very much desired that a visit be made to Keshena, where a council of the chief shamans would be called for the purpose of presenting for their approbation the subject of making public the so-called secret or mystic ceremonies. The visit to the reservation was made during the spring of 1890, when a meeting of the council was called by Nio′pet and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, at which the chief representatives of the society unanimously agreed that I should be received at the next regular meeting. Then, when once within the sacred structure, I might without fear of misfortune ask any questions that I might desire, and receive explanation so far as lay in the power of the chief mitä′wok.

When a meeting of the society is desired, either for the benefit of the sick or for regular initiation, the proceedings are as follows: A consultation is held as to the designation of the four chief medicine men, the selection of a second set of four, and also a third set, each of which groups have special duties to perform during the ceremonies. Two general assistants or ushers are also chosen, whose duties consist in the proper arrangement of the interior of the structure and accessories, the proper location on a ridge pole of the presents, especially the blankets, pieces of calico, mats, etc., which form part of the gifts made by or for the candidate as the price of his admission. A location for the erection of the mitä′wikō′mik[1] is also decided upon, and the women members of the society—usually the wives of the chief officiating medicine men—who are to erect the structure and to prepare the feasts, are also designated.

These preliminary arrangements being completed, the "giver of the feast" presents to the chief medicine man several gifts of tobacco, which are divided into small heaps, and then immediately sent by a

[1] From "mitä'," a member of the society or fraternity of the Mitäwit; and "wikō′mik," a corruption of the word wig wam—from "wigwas," bark—a structure or lodge of bark. Though now built of poles, mats, etc., the original covering was no doubt of bark, thus giving rise to this designation, "wigwam," for all bark habitations.



BUILDING OF MEDICINE LODGE

courier to members of the society, one heap to each member. The runner, on his arrival, places the tobacco before the person for whom it is intended; he, being aware of the purpose of the visitor, merely says, "When and where?" The courier then informs the mitä'ᵛ as to the day and place of the ceremony, and after a short rest departs to fulfill his mission. In the meantime the medicine men have adjourned, each to attend to his own duties in so far as his individual services will be demanded, and to consult with the second and third sets or groups of medicine men designated to assist at the initiation.

It is customary, when an Indian is to be initiated to fill a vacancy caused by death, for the medicine wikŏ'mik to be erected a short distance east of the grave of the deceased member, so that the members of the society may be enabled to march westward when visiting the

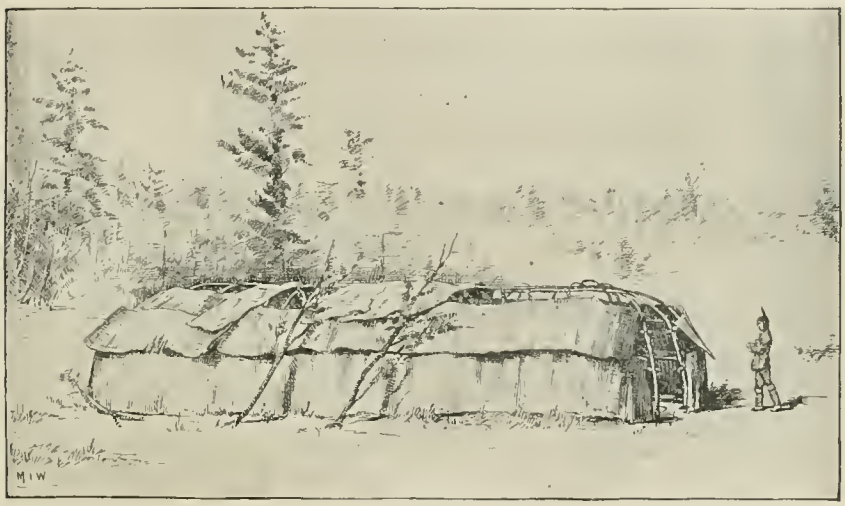


FIG. 5—Ceremonial structure of 1890.

grave, thus following the direction named in the ritual as followed by Na'qpoţe when his shade went in the direction of the setting sun, where the world is cut off.

The medicine lodge (ceremonial structure) termed mitä'wikŏ'mik, or mitä'wi'kiŏp, is erected by the medicine women detailed for the purpose, and is constructed on the following plan: A piece of level ground is sought at a convenient location east of the grave, when long poles, from 2 to 3 inches thick at the base, are planted at irregular intervals along the sides of an oblong. The length of the structure is usually 60 or 70 feet, and its width about 20 feet. The poles are then brought together at the top so as to form an archway, and secured by strands of basswood bark. Plate V represents the skeleton framework of the end of the structure. Mats made of rushes are then placed along the sides, the lower row touching the earth, and a second row placed above

them, but projecting slightly over the tops of the lower ones so as to shed rain. Other mats, pieces of birch bark, and even pieces of canvas, are then placed across the top to shade the interior or to keep out the rain. The mats, a detailed description of which will be given later, are usually a yard wide, and vary from 6 to 12 feet in length.

The exterior of the medicine wikŏ′mik erected in 1890 is represented in figure 5. At this ceremony Shu′nien was recognized as chief officiating shaman, the application for membership having been first made to him, and he in turn having selected his three chief assistants, all of whom, after due deliberation, decided on the order of ceremony. After the wikŏ′mik was erected, branches of cedar were placed on the ground around the interior, though near the wall, and on these were placed mats of rush leaves to serve as seats for the attendants. The gifts presented by the candidate, or his sponsor, were suspended from the long poles placed lengthwise a short distance beneath the top center of the arched inclosure. At various places lanterns also were suspended to furnish light during the night service. The large mat on which the candidate was finally obliged to kneel was spread on the ground about 20 feet from the western exit and along the middle line of the interior, while the space along each side, immediately before the seat mats around the interior, formed the pathway invariably followed by the officiating medicine men and the attending members of the society (see plate VI).

It is customary to hold meetings on Saturday afternoon, beginning at the approach of sunset and continuing uninterruptedly until the next day at sunset. Formerly no special day was selected, but since many of the Indians have become farmers, Sunday is thus employed so that as little time as possible may be lost from their labor.

By Saturday afternoon, on the occasion described, the vicinity of the mitä′wikŏ′mik became a scene of great animation. Wagons bearing the families, tents, and cooking utensils of members of the society began to arrive from various directions. The young men and boys came on horseback, clad in their best and gaudiest attire; children ran hither and thither while chasing one another in play; and the scene was occasionally enlivened by a rush toward a particular spot to witness or to stop a dog fight, as numerous and various specimens of gaunt, snarling curs had congregated from all parts of the reservation.

The members of the society were yet in their hastily erected lodges preparing themselves for public exhibition; but as the sun began to sink, eight of the most prominent members of the society, together with the chief mourner or giver of the feast and his family and relations, proceeded westward to the grave, distant about 200 yards, around which they formed a circle, while Shu′nien stepped nearer toward the head of the grave box, and produced the mäi′tshida′qtokwan, or ceremonial baton. This is a round piece of pine or other soft wood, an inch thick and 30 inches long, with one end slightly pointed so as to

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INTERIOR OF CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE OF 1890

admit of being easily thrust in the ground. The baton is ornamented by having cuts made around it near the top, the shavings being allowed to remain attached at one end but projecting slightly from the stick so as to resemble miniature plumes. About 6 inches below the top cluster is another, as also farther down the baton, until three or four clusters have been made. At the base of each cluster of cuts a band of vermilion an inch wide, encircles the stick. Figure 6 represents the general form of the baton.

Fig. 6—Ceremonial baton.

Shu'nien, after taking the baton at the sharpened end, struck the grave box with the other end, and spoke as follows:

"There were two brothers, Mä'näbŭsh and Na'qpote, the Wolf. Mä'näbŭsh lived to mourn for Na'qpote, who was destroyed by the evil underground beings, but who now abides in Tshi'paia'qki, the final resting place, where he awaits the arrival of the shades of the dead. The dance to be held at the bottom of the hill is held for Na'qpote, that he may return and transport the shade of this dead one to the mitä'wikŏ'mik, where we shall have our ceremonies this night. All the aged whiteheads are invited to it. While Mä'näbŭsh was still on this earth he said that he should build a fire in the northwest, at which the Indians would always be enabled to obtain warmth for themselves, their children, and their successors. He said that afterward he should go to the place of the rising sun, there to abide always and to watch over the welfare of the Indians. He said if the Indians desired to hold a meeting of the Mitä'wit, that they must first have a feast at the head of the grave. We will now sit and eat."

The mitä'wwomen, assisted by relatives of the deceased, then spread a tablecloth upon the ground, and deposited thereon various kinds of meats, vegetables, bread, and pastry—quite a contrast to the primitive method pursued before the adoption of linen tablecloths, china, and silver-plated knives, forks, and spoons. All the invited guests partook of the food placed before them, but nothing was so eagerly sought after as the green cucumbers, which were peeled and eaten raw.

After the feast, Shu'nien, the chief priest and master of ceremonies, again took the ceremonial baton, and handing it to one of his assistants, requested him to make an address. The speaker first struck the grave box, and during the time of his remarks frequently struck the box, as if to emphasize his words. The addresses made by him and his three successors related to exploits performed by them at various times, particularly during the civil war, when most of them had

served as soldiers in the Union army. This digression was prompted because the deceased had been one of their comrades.

Shu'nien, in the meantime, had taken the grave post—which had been previously erected before the grave box—and painted a band of vermilion around the top, a band as broad as a finger, and five crosses on one of the flat sides to denote the number of addresses made at the grave; while on the reverse were four transverse bars and three crosses, denoting that the deceased had performed eight noteworthy exploits during his life. On the grave post were incised the outlines of animals, totemic in character; over each of these some of the animals were again drawn in vermilion, though with another band, as the dotted and shaded lines in the accompanying illustration (figure 7) show. The general appearance of the grave box, with the baton, the grave post, the board with the offering of tobacco, and the stick ornamented with a white cloth, is shown in figure 8. The adjoining grave boxes are those of relations of the deceased, for whose benefit the feast was here given.

FIG. 7—Grave post

By the time the speaking had concluded the sun had gone below the horizon, and Shu'nien suggested returning toward the medicine wikõ'mik, the persons present falling into line two by two. The procession marched slowly down the hill toward the east, and passing toward the south side of the structure to the main or eastern entrance, where only Shu'nien and his three chief assistants, the four highest officiating mitä'ᵛ for this ceremony, entered the inclosure and took seats on the northern side, though near the eastern entrance. Figure 9, representing the ground plan of the medicine wikõ'mik, will serve to illustrate the respective positions of the several persons officiating, as well as those of the candidate, visitors, etc.

At such gatherings it is customary for each individual to dress as elaborately as his circumstances will permit. The head is adorned with a turban made of a silken handkerchief, a hat, feathers, or even a turban consisting of a native-made woolen waist scarf. Bead bags, measuring from 10 to 12 inches in length and from 12 to 16 inches in width, with a shoulder strap or baldric across the opposite shoulder, are worn on the hip or side; frequently two or three are worn by the same mitä'ᵛ, and even as many as a dozen have been seen on a single individual. There are also amulets, worn above the elbows, which consist of strands of beaded work, metal bands or skunk skins, while bracelets of shells,

buckskin, or metal also are worn. About the waist is a long varicolored scarf of native manufacture, and in addition some persons wear beaded belts, or belts of saddler's leather adorned with brass tacks. The legs are decorated with garters, varying from 2 to 3 inches in width and

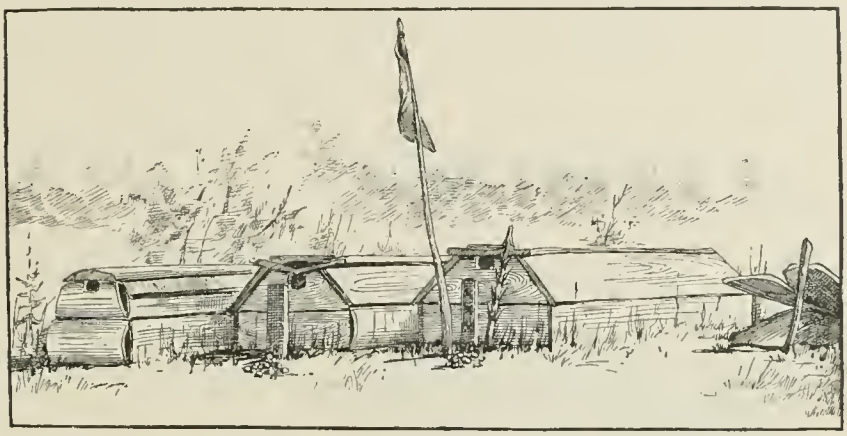

FIG. 8—Graves where feast was held.

from 12 to 15 inches in length, the ends terminating in woolen strings of various colors. The moccasins are sometimes neatly embroidered.

The chief article of value, however, is the medicine sack, in which are carried several small sacred articles, and particularly the konä'pamik,

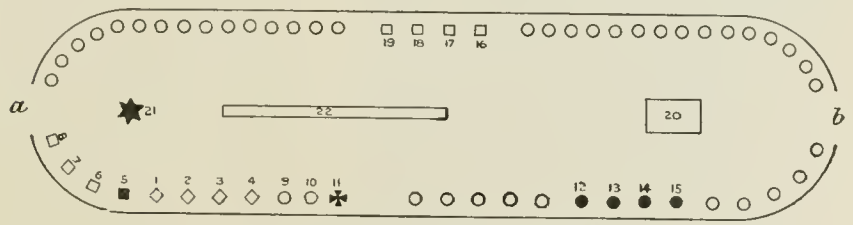

FIG. 9—Diagram of medicine lodge of 1890.

a, The eastern or main entrance; *b*, the western exit; 1, Nio'pet, fourth or lowest of the first four; 2, Ak'winō'mi Mo'shihät, second or next lowest; 3, Shō'mio, third or next to chief; 4, Shu'nien, chief and leader of ceremonies; 5, candidate, Nä'tshiu'iqkŏ ("He who hullies"); 6, 7, 8, medicine women, relations of the candidate; 9, seat occupied by the writer; 10, seat occupied by the interpreter; 11, usher and general assistant; 12, 13, 14, 15, second group of assistant medicine men; 16, 17, 18, 19, third group of medicine men, detailed to assist in initiation; 20, mat on which candidate kneels when he is to be "shot" with the konä'pamik or magic shell; 21, the place of the fire; 22, place of presents suspended from a pole. The remaining spaces around the interior of the inclosure, indicated by small circles, are occupied by the members of the society and visiting medicine men who may be known and entitled to admission.

or shell, used in shooting at the candidate and in conveying sacred or mystic influence to a patient. The medicine sack or bag, together with the several articles of dress above named, are fully described and illustrated in connection with art work and ornamentation.

In addition to adornment of the body by means of various kinds of apparel, beaded and ornamented with metal, feathers, etc, facial

decoration is indulged in liberally. At present there is no special rule governing the arrangement of color designs employed, though formerly, when the society still conferred four degrees, there were distinctive arrangements of color to designate the several degrees by which the rank of the various members could readily be identified. The colors employed were earthy pigments, generally obtained at trading establishments. The mitä'ᵉ who had received but one initiation into the society was allowed, as well as expected, to adorn his face by making a white stripe horizontally across the forehead, a band of white clay of a finger's width, and extending outward as far as the outer angle of each eye. In addition, a spot of green about an inch in diameter was placed upon the middle of the breast.

Those having received two degrees were usually honored by their preceptor by being permitted to adopt the facial decoration of the latter; this consisted of a fanciful application to the face of red ocher, or vermilion, and one spot of green beneath each eye.

The third degree mitä'ᵉ placed a stripe of green so as to extend horizontally outward from the corners of the mouth.

To distinguish a mitä'ᵉ of the highest rank, one of the fourth degree, the chin was colored with green paint.

These arrangements were the generic and specific features in color decoration, but slight additions thereto were made, to such an extent only, however, as not to intrude upon or to obscure the typical decorations characteristic of the several grades.

No regularity of color arrangement, in so far as it relates to rank, is now found. No two faces presented any similarity at the meeting under consideration, the greater number of the members having simply besmeared their cheeks, the chin, or other parts of the face, with vermilion, with here and there a stripe of blue, red, or green. One would have his face colored yellow with ocher or chrome yellow, with a stripe of red running outward from each side of the mouth. Another would have three lines of red passing down over the chin, a central line with one nearer the outer corners of the mouth, between which lines were others of dark blue. Another had black spots the size of a dime on a red forehead; while still another, who had recently lost a near relation, had his cheeks and forehead blackened with ashes.

One young man displayed rather more than ordinary taste in the decoration of his face; there being a stripe across each cheek from the nose to near the ears, curving slightly upward, consisting of alternate squares of vermilion and white, the squares being about three fourths of an inch across and bordered with black. A row of spots also extended from the upper lip outward toward the ears, each spot being as large as a dime; those nearest the mouth were red, the next two white with a bar sinister in blue, and the last ones red. While scarcely beautiful, these facial paintings of the men were very striking.

The facial decorations of the women members of the society were not so elaborate, their chief form consisting mainly of reddened cheeks,

with a spot of blue on the forehead, or a vertical stripe or two across the chin.

When the four medicine men had taken their proper stations and were seated on the mats, the usher brought the goods that had been furnished by the candidate and placed them before Nio'pet, the easternmost of the four. The medicine drum was then also placed before Nio'pet, who removed the drum head, wet it, and after putting some water into the drum—to the depth of perhaps 2 inches—he replaced the drum head and tightened it down by means of a cloth-covered iron hoop. Figure 10 represents the drum and drumstick.

FIG. 10—Medicine drum and stick.

The mitä'ᵛ drum differs from that ordinarily used in dances; it consists of a cylindrical piece of wood carefully hollowed out, about 16 inches high by 12 inches in diameter at the base, gently narrowing toward the top. A piece of rawhide is permanently attached across the bottom, while the top piece is secured only by means of the iron hoop fitting over it and around the drum. About a quart of water is poured into the drum, and after the drumhead has been thoroughly softened by soaking, it is tightly stretched across the top and secured by the hoop.

The drumstick used with the drum consists of a piece of wood curved downward and forward at the front end, so that the point of percussion is but little larger than the tip of the finger. On account of the water in the bottom of the drum, the sound, when one is near by, is merely a series of dull thuds; but on a still night it is audible for the distance of a mile or more.

While the mitä'ᵛ was using the drum, the two seated next accompanied him with rattles, one consisting of a round tin box, the other of a hollow gourd, each with a stick passing through it lengthwise

to serve as a handle. These were partly filled with grains of corn to produce a rattling sound. (Figure 11 represents one of the two specimens procured and now in the United States National Museum.) Other members are admitted at this stage of the ceremony, but as my visit to the meeting was made at the request of some of the mitä'ᵛ and by virtue of my affiliation with the Ojibwa society, I was invited to sit at the right of the chief priest.

The service, which continued from the time of the meeting at the grave until daylight of the following morning, was for the benefit of the shade of the dead, which had been permitted by Na'qpote to return and to be present within the mitä'wikõ'mik. At daybreak, however, the shade is free to return to its last abode, but it is believed to make a last visit to the same spot four years later.

Fig. 11—Gourd rattle.

After the procession arrived at the medicine wikõ'mik, only the four highest officiating medicine men reverentially entered, and, after taking the seats reserved for them, produced their pipes and tobacco. A ceremonial smoke was then indulged in by blowing a mouthful of smoke toward the east, another toward the south, one toward the west, one toward the north, and another toward the sky, the abode of Mashä' Ma'nido, or the Great Mystery. Smoking continued, then, until the pipes went out, when Nio'pet, sitting at the eastern extremity of the row of four, and recognized, during these ceremonies only, as the fourth in rank, began the ceremonies. Looking about him to see that his associates were ready to proceed, he remarked to each of the three, in succession, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanē" (my colleagues, my colleagues, my colleagues); to which the others responded in like manner. Then he took the drumstick, and giving the drum several soft though rapid taps, to call attention, the two sitting to his right assisting in gently shaking the rattle, the medicine man softly chanted the following words:

"My grandson will now be placed on the correct path. It gives me pleasure to see the goods before me, which have been brought here as an evidence of the good will of my grandson, and his desire to become instructed in the way to go through life. I can hear beneath the ground the approach of our enemies, the ânâ'maqkī'ñ, who destroyed the brother of Mä'näbūsh, and who now would wish to oppose our proceedings, but Mä'näbūsh said: 'Whenever you are in trouble, place some tobacco aside for me, and when the odor of your smoke ascends I shall help you.' Therefore, we have before us some tobacco to be offered to Mä'näbūsh, that he may be present at the meeting and fill us with contentment."

When this recitation was ended, all uttered rapidly the words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," while the drum was pushed toward the right, to the next medicine man, Ä′kwinē′mi Mo′sihât, the rattles being now used by Shō′min and Shu′nien. The attendant usher also came forward from his station, down toward the middle of the northern side of the inclosure, and placed the goods and presents before the drummer, who, after saying to each of his companions, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," began gently to tap the drum, and gradually reciting his words they blended into a chant and finally into rapid utterances, as follows:

"The shades are looking toward us and are watching our procedure, as we are looking toward them for their approbation. They favor our work and will not oppose us. Our fathers have always done thus before us, and they did well, because they had been instructed by Mä′näbŭsh to do so. Therefore we too follow our fathers in obeying the injunctions of Mä′näbŭsh, that all may be well with us." As this recitative chant was concluded, the other medicine men uttered the same interjectional words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ."

The chant appears brief; but the peculiar manner of its delivery, by duplicating the phrases, and by some interjected meaningless notes, to give emphasis and to fill up the measure of drum beats, caused it to be more prolonged than one would suppose possible. As usual, everything was done with apparent premeditation and studied delay, to make it as impressive as possible to those not members of the society.

The drum and goods were then pushed along to a spot before the third singer, Shō′min, who in turn handed his rattle to Nio′pet, Shu′nien still retaining his, while Ä′kwinē′mi, who had just completed his chant, rested. Shu′nien also saluted his confrères with the words, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," then began to drum very gently, and soon to chant the following:

"In teaching the one who desires to become a mitä′ᵛ to follow the right path, we are ourselves following the directions given to us by the Great Mystery. He caused the Mystery [Mä′näbŭsh] to come and to erect a mitä′wikŏ′mik, where we should receive instructions, and where, also, others might receive it from us. The old whiteheads received instruction in this manner, and we, as their children, received our information from them. Therefore, we now teach the true way of life. We do that even today." As before, the three other medicine men uttered the words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," as an intimation of approbation and concurrence with the thoughts expressed, while the drum and goods were placed before Shu′nien, who, though the last of the four, was the chief officiating medicine man for the time. Gently tapping the drum, he began uttering and continuing more and more rapidly, in a spasmodic or disconnected manner, the following words, the phrases gradually assuming the nature of a chant:

"Long ago the grand medicine was observed with more care and reverence than it is now. The sun was bright when the whiteheads

assembled, but now it is dark, and I can not see the reason. Children were better taught to respect the truth and to be honest. Once a man came to me in search of his children. They had become lost to him, and he was unable to find them. But I could see the children, far, far away, and I told the father that I could see his children, but that there was a great fire raging between them and me, and that they were beyond reach. He could not recover them. Therefore, teach your children that they may not stray beyond your control and find themselves separated from you by the barrier of fire from which it is impossible to rescue them. Teach them also to be honest; do not permit them to learn to lie and to steal."

At the conclusion of this recitation the companions of Shu'nien gave exclamations of approbation by rapidly uttering, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ." The usher then came forward, gathered up the goods, and carried them

FIG. 12—Presents suspended from pole.

toward the middle of the eastern half of the inclosure, where, with the assistance of some friends of the candidate, he suspended the blanketst cloth, calico, mats, etc., from the longitudinal ridge pole, placed a short distance below the roof arch for this purpose (figure 12).

In the meantime the singers had again produced their pipes to take a smoke. Other members of the society who were to take active part in the ceremonies now entered the inclosure at the eastern door. All who were permitted to enter at this stage of the ceremonies had dressed themselves as became their station, and in entering passed along the right side of the inclosure nearest the mats occupied by the four medicine men, and as they passed by them each held his right hand toward the seated figures, the back of the hand toward the person addressed, and saluted him by designating him by the proper term of relationship; or, if no such connection existed, then by "my elder brother," "my younger brother," as the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed may have been. The person thus addressed bowed his head and responded by saying, "Han'kä" (it is well), and when each of

the four had responded those who had passed went to their places and before seating themselves looked around the inclosure, as if addressing a number of invisible persons present, and said, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanĕ'," to which the others again responded, "Han'kä." Each visitor then seated himself and took a ceremonial smoke. He took his seat, as did all subsequent visitors, either on one or the other side of the structure, according to the phratry of which he was a member.

It has already been stated that a second group of four medicine men had been selected to assist in the ceremonies of initiation; and these, having by this time dressed themselves in their ornamented headdresses, with beaded medicine bags suspended at their sides, and with beaded garters and other ornaments adorning their persons, now appeared at the eastern entrance, entering in single file, keeping step to a forward dancing movement, which consisted of quick hops on the right and left foot alternately. These medicine men were Ni'aqtawâ'pomi, Mai'ăkinĕu^{v}, Na'qpâtä, and Kimē'ân. All of them had gourd or tin rattles, with which to accompany the singer. The four passed along before the others, who were already seated, holding their hands toward the latter, and saluting them by expressing such terms of relationship as existed, or by terming one an elder brother or a younger brother, as their relative ages demanded. They then continued their dancing step down on the right side to the west, where they gradually turned to their left side so as to return on the opposite (southern) side of the inclosure to the inside of the eastern entrance, where they halted and faced westward. The leader, Ni'aqtawâ'pomi, then began to keep time with his rattle, addressing those present by saying, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanĕ':" whereupon all present responded by saying, "Han'kä," when he began to chant the words:

"I am glad you are all working at that, of which the old medicine men taught me. It puts back my thoughts to bygone years, when I was young and just about to be made a member of this society. This is the way all of you feel at realizing how the many winters have whitened our hair."

Then the singer, accompanied by his three assistants, renewed his dancing along the path to the western end of the mita'wikŏ'mik, where they halted and, facing eastward, Ni'aqtawâ'pomi continued his chant:

"'Take pity on your poor,' is what the old people always told me to do; that I now say to those within the hearing of my voice; my son, you will be happy when you dance with the dead today."

At the conclusion of this chant the four medicine men again started on their dancing step to make the circuit of the interior of the inclosure, but as they approached the east, the one who first chanted quietly stepped to the rear of the line, leaving the second one, Mai'ăkinĕ'u^{v}, to become the leader, and as they took their former position at the eastern entrance, facing westward, he also addressed those present with the

terms of kinship or friendship to which each was entitled, after which he also saluted his colleagues by saying, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," to which they responded, "Hau′kä." Mai′ākinĕ′nᵉ then began to chant in a recitative manner the following words:

"It is good for you and for us to follow the injunctions of Mä′näbūsh, and to gather about within the mitä′wikŏ′mik. The old people before us have spoken about the benefits to be gained by gathering here, and I also call to your attention the good that is to be derived by our meeting here. I have now spoken about what the whiteheads have told me. I have thanked them for their words to me."

Then the procession of the four medicine men again started off on its dancing around the inclosure, as before, to the west, where they stopped and faced eastward. Mai′ākinĕ′nᵉ again sang the foregoing words, after which the four started along the southern path eastward, during which movement the last singer dropped to the rear, thus leaving Na′qpâtä as the leader, and the one to chant next. By this time they had reached the eastern part of the inclosure and, facing westward, Na′qpâtä saluted those present with the appropriate terms of relationship, and then addressing his colleagues, as his predecessors had done, began his chant, as follows:

"Our old customs appear well; the words that are spoken sound well. This is the Great Mystery's home. The practices which our old parents taught are beautiful in my eyes. The sky used to be bright, but now it is dark." Then the singer, followed by the three beside him, again danced toward the west, where they stopped, and, facing westward, Na′qpâtä continued:

"Mä′näbūsh told our parents to do as we are now doing. Hereafter the Indians will continue to follow our footsteps and teachings, as we are following the way of those before us. The sky has four openings, for which we must look. The openings are the places we much look for and ask the Great Mystery to close, for this rain interferes with our work."

The frequent references to "dark sky" and "openings" in the sky, were because of the rain which had begun to fall shortly after the beginning of the ceremonies.

At the conclusion of the above chant, the medicine men again made the entire circuit of the inclosure, dancing all the way, but as they approached the east again, the singer fell to the rear, thus causing Kimē′ân, the fourth and last, to become the leader and to chant the next song. Saluting those present with appropriate kinship terms, he also addressed his colleagues, as the others had done, then chanted these words:

"We have now arrived at that part of the dance when all the medicine men may enter the mitä′wikŏ′mik. Let them be notified that we shall be pleased to see them seated with us, and partake of the ceremony which Mä′näbūsh enjoined upon us to continue. We shall be able to induce the Great Mystery to help us, so that the sun may not remain obscured."

Immediately on the completion of this recitation, the four medicine men again made the tour of the inclosure along the northern side, and when at the western extremity they stopped, faced eastward, and Kimē′ân repeated his song. Then the party went to the eastern part and, facing westward, listened to the word "Hau′kă" uttered by the chief medicine men who were seated at the northeastern corner. Then the second group of medicine men, those who had lately ceased chanting, walked along the northern path toward the west to the seats reserved for them (marked 12, 13, 14, and 15, in figure 9).

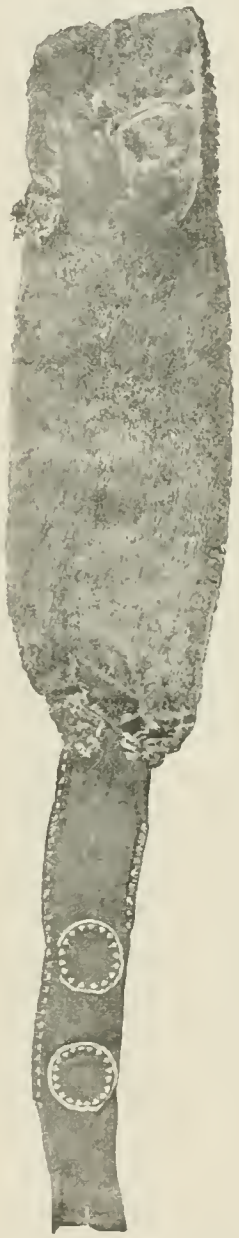

FIG. 13—Otter-skin medicine bag.

Ceremonial smoking was now indulged in for a considerable time, during which the members of the society and visiting medicine men entered the inclosure and took seats according to the phratry to which they belonged, or according to the office to be filled during the ceremonies. Each one saluted those already seated, in succession, as he went along the right side path to a seat. The candidate also came into the structure, accompanied by his nearest relation, or friends as well, also the member of the society who made the promise of giving a feast at the grave of the deceased. The candidate took a seat next to Xio′pet, on the left, while the candidate's friend sat at the left side of the latter. A third group of four medicine men, who also had been selected to assist in the ceremonies, now entered, and, after passing around and saluting each one in succession, went to the western side of the inclosure, where they took seats midway between the center and the eastern door (at the places marked 16, 17, 18, and 19, figure 9). These men were Shâwaq′ka, Wisha′noqkwŏt′, Wâba′shăĭ′ŭ^{v}, and Kowapamĭn^{v}. The medicine women who also had been selected to assist, both in the erection or superintendence of the ceremonial structure, in the preparation of the feast, and in the ceremony of initiation, were located thus: Sa′suss at the southeastern angle of the inclosure and Pă′-shănăni′uqkŭŭ^{v} at the northwestern angle.

Each member had his medicine bag, usually consisting of the skin of an animal, such as the mink, beaver, otter, or weasel, though a bear's

paw may be used for the same purpose; or, perhaps, a panther paw pouch, a snake skin, or any other material which may have been presented as a gift at an initiation, or dreamed of by the medicine man subsequently to his being admitted to membership. (See figure 13. This subject is described more fully in connection with beadwork and ornamentation.) The audience became large and interesting, not only because of the large number of members, but on account of the crowd of people gathered about the medicine wikŏ'nik, who peeped through every available crevice and opening in the mats covering the framework of the lodge.

The following list comprises the names of the male and female members of the Mitä'wit, with the signification of nearly all of them, as furnished by the chiefs of the society at the annual meetings held in July, 1890, August, 1891, August, 1892, and August, 1893, as well as at a conference with the chief mitä'wok held during the months of February and March, 1892, at Washington:

Males.

À kwine mi Mo sha[1]	Within-the-month.
Ănä maqki'sä	Little Thunder.
Ă pätăke zhĭk	Half-the-sky.
Aqki nakŏ shĕ'	Terrible-looking.
Baĭä wĕqshĭ	That which-rattles.
Hŏhŏ peshĕ	Little whoops.
Ish kwaä ban[2]	Breaking Day.
Ka'ĕ abaqshi ŭ'	One who-broils.
Kaie nan ĕ k Koq 'sa	(Unknown).
Kaia nonă k[3]	(Unknown).
Ka she koqka u[4]	One who-carries-light.
Kawi klt[5]	Rough face.
Kĕnĕ shä	Eaglet.
Ke 'shŏ	Moon.
Ke 'shoka weshat	The Moon!
Kine'ăn	Rain.
Kishĕ wado shä	Swift little hawk.
Kowa pani ŭ'[5]	(Unknown).
Mala kinĕ ŭ'	True Eagle. [goes.
Mätwash kat	Making a sound-as-he-
Miq kinĕ ni	Partisan.
Mishi nawe	A Waiter.
Naiäq to	Certain-one.
Ni'a'qtawä pomi	The most-conspicuous.
Nă mot, n	Tells the-truth.
Naq pă'ta	Marksman.
Na shikă pawe	Stands in-the-dark.
Nätshi wiqkŏ'	He-who-bullies.
Nawaq kwe shkŭm	Half a-month.
Ni kanish	Foremost-man.
Nio pĕt	Four-in-a-den.
Nomäsh	Fish.
O kimäsh	Younger-chief.
O kwe nawa peshi u'	Chief-of the swans.
O kwitshiwa no	On-the-summit.
P'ine nĕt'	Flying-by.
Pipo nänĕ u'	Winter Hawk.
Pi tiwă keshid	Coming noisily.
Pitwäsh kŭm	Coming with a sound.
Shaka naqkwŏd	Peeping cloud.
Shaboi tok	Penetrating-sound.
Sha batis	Baptiste, Fr.).
Sha wanake zhĭk	Southern-sky.
Shäwaq ka	Yellow-wings.
Sho'mĭn	Raisin.
Shoshät'	(Unknown).
Shu nien	Money (silver).
Tämas Kokŏsh	Thomas Hegder.
Tshi-Kwa set	The-sound of the thun-
Wă bakinĕ ŭ'	White Eagle.
Wă bano	Easterner.
Wa basha ŭ'	White-dressed-skin.
Wă batshikĭ	White Fisher.
Waima tekit	With-bow and-arrow.
Wai shikwonät	Tail-of-the great fish.
Wa naqko 'shĕ	Little apex.
Wa nis Kam	(Unknown).
Weq-Kă shä	Little-calamus.
Wies kushĕd'	Good-one.
Wisha noqkwŏt	Dense-cloud.
Wisho'[6]	(Unknown).
Witshi wau'	Going-for-somebody.

Females.

Angĕ lik	(Angelica).
Ă pätä Ke'zhikŭkĭ ŭ'	Half-a-day.
Awa'nnqui'a	Fog.
Dä tĕwiata'mo (girl)	Rumbling Noiso.
Kakikätshiwan	Everlasting-falls.
Kä tshemiqtă ŭ	One-who-dances.

[1] Died during the winter of 1894–95.
[2] An Ojibwa word.
[3] Word adopted from some other tribe; unknown.
[4] The Moon.
[5] Potawatomi words.
[6] Corruption of a French name.

Females—Continued.

Kē'niaqkī'sau .....Little Eagle.
Kē'niaqkī'sau [1].....Little Eagle.
Ke'waiatshī'wan .....The-eddy.
Kē'shīuqkä'ŭ [2].....Moon-woman.
Kē'shikoq'kí'n [2].....Moon-woman.
Kī'niaqhī'ŭ .....Eagle woman.
Kī'nīaqkī'sa .....Little-she-eagle.
Kīnō'ka .....The-long-one.
Kī'sha'nō'wīŭ .....One-who-sheds-tears.
Kī'shiwā'tshiwan.....Roaring-rapids.
Kiwaqkwo''amuqk' ....Flying-clouds.
Kūshe'aqkī ŭ .....French-woman.
Kūshe'aqkī'n.....French woman.
Kūshe'aqkī'n [3].....French woman.
Mishkwo'panoq .....Red-dawn.
Mushaq'kwätuq'kĭŭ....Sky-woman. [tree.
Naq'kaha''amu .....Picks-blossom-off-the-
Näsĕq'kai'ik.....Travels-alone.
Na'wata'winĕ'ŭ.....She-who picks-berries.
Ni'kaniq'sakwä'ŭ'.....She-who-leads.
Ni'sĕt (girl) .....''Elizabeth.''
O'shōna'muniq'kĭŭ .....Vermilion-woman.
Pa'mikī'shīkŏk' .....Scattering-clouds.
Päsa'näqkwatŭq'kĭu ...The-touching-clouds.
Päshänä'ni'uqkī'ŭ' .....The-bird's-tail-touching.
Pē''taŭ'midä'mo .....Bird-woman.
Pi'shäqku'uqkí'ŭ .....Cattle-woman
Pi'ta'nowĕ.....Approaching-light.
Pi'taqka'mikuq'kĭŭ.....That-which-grows
Sa'suss .....(Unknown)
Shī'awäqkīŭ' .....Bend-in-the-river.
Ta'k kī'zhikoqk' .....Day-woman.
Tamō'n .....Gray-squirrel.
Tshō bätsh' [4].....(French.)
Wâ'banō mitä'mo.....Wabano-woman.
Wâ banō mitä'mo [5].....Wabano-woman.
Wâ'hataunoq'kwetŏk (Unknown).
(girl).

Darkness having come on, the usher and the medicine woman put more wood on the fires, built near each end of the inclosure, and also lit the lanterns suspended from the archway of the wikŏ'mik at various places. In a short time the candidate was called forward, to stand before the left-hand medicine man of the first group. The candidate's friends and family, to the number of eight, stood in a semicircle around the candidate and kept time to the chant and drumming by dancing in a shuffling manner, in the spot first taken by them.

Nio'pet now chanted to the candidate, and the women in a few moments caught the monotonous air, if such it may be designated, and sang in a peculiar high-pitched voice, reminding one of the sound made by a bagpipe. The translation of Nio'pet's chant is as follows:

"When Mä'näbŭsh erected the mitä'wikŏ'mik he placed tobacco before the Great Mystery as an offering. Therefore it is always used as an offering when one seeks to become a member of the Mitä'wit."

These words were repeated, as before stated, and reiterated so that their delivery consumed from ten to fifteen minutes. The candidate at the conclusion of the song returned to his seat, as did also his friends.

A ceremonial smoke having been taken by most of those present, the drum was pushed along westward to the medicine man next to Nio'pet, who was now accompanied by the rattle and by the other two performers to his right. When the drumming began the candidate and his friends again came forward and stood reverentially before the drummer, when the latter began to chant the following:

"You see how the mitäwikŏ'mik is built; it is the same as that directed by the Great Mystery to be built by Mä'näbŭsh for the Indians.

[1] Not related to preceding of same name.

[2] The slight difference in the spelling is due in this and in similar cases to individual peculiarity in pronunciation.

[3] The women bearing these three similar names are not related.

[4] Corruption of the French je passe.

[5] Not related to the preceding of similar name.

It is strong, and gives life to those who meet within it. This is the northern side, and it was made by Mashä′ Ma′nido. When you require strength you must meet within the walls of the structure."

Again the candidate and his friends retired to their seats, and another delay occurred, during which smoking and conversation in a low tone went on. In the meantime the drum was passed once more toward the right for the third of the chief medicine men to use with his chant, and when he began to tap the drum the candidate and his friends again came forward and formed a semicircle before the singer. His words (translated) were as follows:

"I am speaking of the southern side; it is not so strong as the other side. The strong side must always aid the weaker one. The goods and the tobacco that have been given for the feast will induce the mysteries to aid us to keep our strength while we continue to perform the ceremonies instituted by Mä′näbŭsh at the desire of Mashä′ Ma′nido."

The candidate and his friends again retired to their seats as the chant ended, while the drum was passed on to Shu′nien, whose turn came next. The character of the recitation was now changed, as reference to the presents and the benefits to be obtained by frequently gathering together were omitted, while the myth relating to the birth of Mä′näbŭsh and his subsequent deeds in procuring for the Indian all the benefits which they enjoy was begun.

Shu′nien and the rest of his chief assistants now sat with heads bowed down, as if in deep meditation on the sacredness of the mitä′ᵛ ritual, the most important part of which is the recitation by the singer of the myth as it had been handed down from the past.

After some water had again been poured into the drum and the head moistened, replaced, and tightly stretched, Shu′nien began gently to tap it, his eyes directed forward or upward, and at the moment of supposed inspiration began the chant, keeping time with the drumstick, and accompanied by the rattling of the three companion mitä′wok. The candidate presented himself before Shu′nien, standing there reverentially to listen to the recitation, while his friends and other medicine men and women, to the number of twelve, gathered about him. As before, these recitations were uttered at first in an earnest manner, gradually becoming more vehement and rapid, until the singer reached an apparently ecstatic condition. His eyes had a vacant, far-away look, the perspiration began to roll from his face and body, and the muscles of his neck and arm swelled out clear and distinct with excitement and muscular exertion, so that at the end of the chant the performer appeared thoroughly exhausted.

The most remarkable feature of all the chants was the repetition of phrases, each set of from four to six words being rapidly repeated all through that portion of the ritual recited by the first class of four mitä′wok. The original phraseology requires a much longer time than

is indicated by the translations, and as this duplication doubled the time, the several chants covered a period varying from twenty minutes to three-quarters of an hour. In the following translation the original phraseology has been followed as closely as possible, so as to maintain intelligible sequence without additional explanation.

After Shu'nien had tapped the drum sufficiently to attain the proper time to suit his chant, he began with the following traditional history of Menomini genesis:

"The daughter of Noko'mis, the Earth, is the mother of Mä'näbŭsh, who is also the Fire. The Flint[1] grew up out of Noko'mis, and was alone. Then the Flint made a bowl and dipped it into the earth; slowly the bowlful of earth became blood, and it began to change its form. So the blood was changed into Wabus, the Rabbit. The Rabbit grew into human form, and in time became a man, and thus was Mä'näbŭsh[2] formed. Mä'näbŭsh was angry because he was alone on the earth; and because his enemies, the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, who dwelt beneath the earth, were constantly annoying him and trying to destroy him.

"Then Mä'näbŭsh shaped a piece of flint to make an ax, and while he was rubbing it on a rock he heard the rock make peculiar sounds, 'Kē kä', kē kä', kē kä', kē kä', gōss, gōss, gōss, gōss.' He soon understood what this signified, that he was alone on the earth and that he had neither father, mother, brother, nor sister. This is what the Flint said while Mä'näbŭsh was rubbing it upon the rock.

"While he was meditating on this, he heard the sound of something approaching, and when he looked up he beheld Moqwai'o, the Wolf, who said to Mä'näbŭsh, 'Now you have a brother, for I too am alone; we shall live together and I shall hunt for you.' Mä'näbŭsh replied, 'I am glad to see you, my brother. I shall change your form and make you like myself;' and in a short time Moqwai'o became as a man. Mä'näbŭsh and his brother then moved away to the shore of a lake, where they built a wigwam. Mä'näbŭsh told his brother that the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ dwelt beneath the water of the lake, and that he should never go into the water nor cross the ice.

"One day the brother of Mä'näbŭsh was out hunting, and it was late in the day when he started to return to his wigwam. He found himself on the shore of the lake, just opposite to where the wigwam stood, and could easily see it; and as he did not want to make a long journey around by the lake shore, he hesitated awhile, but at last decided to cross over on the ice. When he reached the middle of the lake the ice broke, and the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ pulled him under, and he was drowned.

[1] The Abnaki Indians of Canada, a tribe linguistically allied to the Menomini, also believe the first man and the first woman to have been created of a stone. The Abbé Maurault remarks: "Ils croyaient que le premier homme et la première femme sauvages avaient été créés d'une pierre; que le Grand-Esprit, non satisfait de ce premier coup-d'essai, avait détruit ce premier couple, et en avait créé un autre d'un arbre; que ce second couple était presqu'aussi parfait que le Grand-Esprit, et que les sauvages en descendaient."—Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours, Quebec, 1866, pp. 19, 20.

[2] From Mashŭ', great; and wabŭs, rabbit.

"Mä'näbūsh knew that his brother had been killed, and mourned for him for four days. On the fifth day, while Mä'näbūsh was out looking for the trail of game, he chanced to look up from the ground and beheld his brother approaching. Then the brother of Mä'näbūsh said: 'My fate will be the fate of all our friends and descendants; they will die, but after four days they will return again.' Then Mä'näbūsh found that what he thought was the body of his brother was only the shade, so he said: 'My brother, return to the place of the setting sun; you are now called Na'qpote, and will have the care of the dead.' The mystery replied: 'If I go there and our friends follow me we shall not be able to return again when we leave this place.' Mä'näbūsh again spoke to the shade of his brother, saying: 'Go, Na'qpote, and prepare a wigwam for our friends; build a large fire, that they may be guided to it—that on their arrival they may find an abode.'

"Then Na'qpote left, to abide in the land of shades, in the direction of the setting sun, where the world is cut off."

Shu'nien ceased chanting at this point, and the candidate and his friends returned to their seats. The usher came forward and placed the drum before Nio'pet, at the left side, while the rattles were appropriated by the other medicine men. A ceremonial smoke having again been taken, Nio'pet began to tap the drum gently, and as the rattles were heard the candidate and his companions presented themselves before Nio'pet. The following is a translation of the words chanted:

"When Mä'näbūsh found himself deprived of his brother, he looked about him and found that he was not now alone on the earth, but that there were other people, his uncles and aunts, also children of Noko'mis. He found that they were greatly harassed by the ânâ'maqkī'ñ, and became very angry with Mashä' Ma'nido for allowing them so much power. He therefore determined to destroy the ânâ'maqkī'ñ, and cried out for the waters of the lake to disappear. Four times he cried out, when the waters began to disappear in the earth, leaving on the mud and sand of the bottom many of the ânâ'maqkī'ñ, while stranded near the shore lay the chief of them all, Mi'sikinē'bīk, the Great Fish. Then Mä'näbŭsh said to him, 'I want to destroy you because you will not permit my people to approach the water that they may drink;' but just as he was about to carry out his threat the smaller ânâ'maqkī'ñ again caused the waters to return to the lake, thus depriving Mä'näbŭsh of the satisfaction of killing their chief. Thus they escaped.

"Then Mä'näbŭsh went to seek some birch trees, and getting bark sufficient to make a canoe, he prepared one and decided to destroy Mi'sikinē'bīk by attacking him in the water. As he left the shore to go out upon the lake, he sang 'Mi'sikinē'bīk bina' ni'na kōq'sīna' [Great Fish, come and swallow me]. Mi'sikinē'bīk paid no attention to this, as he thought his young could easily destroy Mä'näbŭsh. They came toward the canoe, but Mä'näbŭsh said to them, 'I do not want you; it

is your chief and parent whom I want to come and swallow me;' and pushing them forcibly away from him, the old Mi'sikinē'bĭk became so enraged that he darted forward and swallowed Mä'näbŭsh.

"When Mä'näbŭsh found himself inside the belly of Mi'sikinē'bĭk, he began to look about and found many of his people—some who had but recently been swallowed, some who had become sick and weak from long confinement, and the remains of many others who had perished there. Then Mä'näbŭsh asked the Buffalo, 'My uncle, how did you get here? I never saw you near the water, but always on the prairie.' The Buffalo replied, saying, 'I was near the lake to get some green, fresh grass, when Mi'sikinē'bĭk caught me.' He asked many of the others how they happened to be so unfortunate as to be in that place. Then Mä'näbŭsh said to them all, 'We will now have to go to my grandmother's shore, but you will have to help me.' Then they all began to dance around in the interior of Mi'sikinē'bĭk, which made him very sick and caused him to swim toward the shore. Then Mä'näbŭsh, who had a short knife with him, began to cut into that part of the body over his head, while the dancers sang, 'Kē'sĭkĭna'min; kē'sĭkĭna'min' [I see the sky; I see the sky]. Mä'näbŭsh kept cutting the body of Mi'sikinē'bĭk so much that he was heard to say, 'I have too many of them within me; I am getting very sick; I shall swim to the shore where Noko'mis lives'; and going forward rapidly he was soon stranded on the beach, when Mä'näbŭsh finished by cutting a hole in the body of Mi'sikinē'bĭk large enough for them to emerge and again be free.

"They were all pleased because Mä'näbŭsh had helped them to return to the earth. Mä'näbŭsh then left his uncles and went toward the rising sun, when one day as he was approaching a high mountain he saw on it, basking in the sun, a large white bear, Owa'sse, who was one of the most powerful of the âna'maqkĭ'ŭ. Mä'näbŭsh approached very cautiously, and drawing an arrow from his quiver, he fixed it to his bowstring and shot it through the body of Owa'sse, killing him. The blood ran down the mountain side and stained it so that it is visible even at this day. There we get some of the medicine which is used by the mitä'wok."

At the termination of the above chant, the candidate and his attendants returned to their seats, while the performer passed the drum and drumstick to the mitä'ᵛ on his right, who appeared to continue the ritualistic chant. The nature of the recitation was again changed, for instead of continuing the traditional exploits of Mä'näbŭsh, the explanation of how the mitä'wikŏ'mik came to be constructed and the privileges which Mä'näbŭsh received from the Great Mystery were recounted. It was also stated how and why the mitä'wok do certain things connected with the ceremony.

The second of the mitä'wok who now prepared to chant was the third in rank. The candidate and his followers returned and stood before the

singer, when, after a short preliminary drumming, the beats slowly and gradually swelling in intensity, the medicine man began a chant, of which the following words are a translation:

"The mitä'wikŏ'mik must always be built so as to extend from the direction of the rising of the sun to the direction of the setting thereof. Mashä' Ma'nido gave to Mä'näbŭsh charge of the entrance toward the setting sun. Mashä' Ma'nido also informed Mä'näbŭsh of what should be done and encountered by him, as well as by those who should hereafter become members of the Mitä'wit. A path leads from the wigwam toward the place of the rising sun, and at a short distance sit two aged, gray-haired men facing each other. When Mä'näbŭsh reached this place the elder of them said, 'My son, as you follow this path you will come to a ridge; ascend it until you reach a tree growing on one side of the path. The roots of this tree reach to the four worlds beneath, while its branches ascend to the entrance of the sky, where four ma'nidos guard it and watch all those who approach. Some enter, while others are obliged to continue on the path. The four ma'nidos are Kine'u', the Bald-eagle; Pinäsh'in, the Golden-eagle; Mamä'tshe'an, the Indian; and Wapis'hketa-pa'u, the White-hair. The last is the chief of those who have charge of the entrance to the sky.

"'The mitä'wok get their sacred staffs from the branches of the tree which rises to the sky. From the place of the tree forward we are told to continue on the path toward the rising sun, but on the way you shall find a large poplar log lying across it, over which you must not pass, but will have to go around it at the top end of the tree. The small branches typify theft, and if you have sinned you will be drawn to them and bite them with your teeth. Should you have committed such an offense you will be punished.

"'A little farther on you will find another tree, a thorn apple, against which you must not put your fingers, nor lean against it, nor take any fruit therefrom. You must pass it on the left side. After a short journey you will come to a stream of water which crosses the path, where, as you stoop to drink, you will perceive the reflection of your image and that your head is turning gray. Then, as you meditate how many days you have lived you will become nervous at the sight and thoughtful of what you may have done. When you continue on your path, you will in time come to a country covered with green plants of many kinds; there are medicines, roots and leaves. You will dig some and pluck others, which you will prepare to give to those who need them. Then as you look to the sky, for this is the end of the path, you will find that you can go no farther.

"'Many points have you passed ere this which may have tempted you to tarry, but had you done so you would not have reached the end of the entire path of life, but would have perished.'"

On the completion of this chant the candidate again retired, as did those who accompanied him, while the members generally indulged in a smoke. The medicine women retired to get more food for those

officiating, which consumed considerable time, and during this digression there was considerable going and coming and visiting of old friends, who may have chanced to have met only once a year and under similar circumstances. When all had again become quiet, the third medicine man, Shō′min, received the drum, and while he was tapping it preparatory to chanting, the candidate and his friends came forward and stood in front of him, remaining throughout the chant, which was supposed to recount the manner in which Mä′näbŭsh received the assistance of various ma′nidos, who were instructed by the Great Mystery to place at the disposal of Mä′näbŭsh their several powers. The translation of his recitation is as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh sat in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, which he had erected as Mashä′ Ma′nido had instructed him to do, he sat thinking as to how he should further be enabled to obtain necessary powers to aid his uncles and their descendants.

"Then from the east came Owa′sse, the Bear, who entered the mitä′wikŏ′mik and said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'My brother, I come to you to offer to you my strength, that you may be able to withstand the power of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ.' Mä′näbŭsh was pleased to receive from the Bear the power. Then Wâbon, the Daylight, also came in from the east, following the Bear, saying, 'My brother, I come to offer myself to you, that you may be able to hold your mitä′ᵛ meeting.' Again Mä′näbŭsh was gratified at this gift, and thanked the Daylight. Then another ma′nido came flying from the place of the rising sun—he whose bones can be heard to rattle, and he of whom those who dream become faint with fear; this is Pâ′ka. Pâ′ka told the Bear and the Daylight that he too would inspire Mä′näbŭsh, so as to fill with terror those who were antagonistic to the mitä′ᵛ. Again Mä′näbŭsh thanked his brothers for their aid. Then came another from the east, who was brighter than the Daylight, he who is called Misĭq′kwan, followed by Massē′nä, the Turkey. To Män′äbŭsh the Turkey gave the red color from his neck, that the mitä′ᵛ might paint themselves, and from his tail the bars, which signify days, that there might be a division of time when the mitä′ᵛ might dance. 'These,' said the Turkey to Mä′näbŭsh, 'I give to you.' Mä′näbŭsh was greatly pleased at this assistance, and thanked the Turkey, as he had the other ma′nidos. Then came Kŭkŭ′kŭŭ′, the Great Owl, who said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'I shall come and sit by the burial place of the dead, to see that their resting place is not disturbed.' Then Wâ′kŭ, the Fox, came also to Mä′näbŭsh, saying, 'My brother, I also will make you a gift—my voice; then those who have lost their friend may always be able to cry in lamentation.' Mä′näbŭsh then spoke to the ma′nidos who had come from the east, and again thanked them for their aid in giving strength to the Mitä′wit.

"From the south then came Mikēk′, the Otter, who said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'My brother, I come to give you the konä′pamik; you will find it on a rock in the waters of the lake; there you will find it and

give it to your mitä′ᵛ brothers.' Then Kē′so, the Sun, came from the south and said, 'I too, my brother, will appear above you when you all gather in the mitä′wikō′mik, and as I go westward you will see my path, which you will, in time, follow.'

"From the west came the Inä′mäqkī′ūᵛ, the Thunderers; A'sa′nikaq ki, the Small Eagle; Ki′tshē waqdōse, the Eagle; Wabaq′kē and Pinäsh in, the Bald eagle; Mäqkwa′nanī′ūᵛ, the Hawk, and Pēpo′nēnē′, another Eagle. They all approached Mä′näbŭsh, and as they came the sky became dark with clouds. 'This, Mä′näbŭsh, we give to you to make a covering to one side of your mitä′wikō′mik.' Mä′näbŭsh thanked the Inä′mäqkī′ūᵛ for their help, and we have today the shelter granted to our uncle for the mitä′wikō′mik.

"Then from the sky was heard the sound of voices. Two old men were heard to speak about the gifts of Mä′näbŭsh, and one said to him, 'Mä′näbŭsh, we will put some stones near your mitä′wikō′mik which shall be heated in the fire; we also give you water to pour on the stones when they are heated. This you will do before you dance in the mitä′wikō′mik. Carry this news to your people that they may all hear of it and know how to prepare themselves when they wish to dance.' We all use the hot stones and pour water upon them when we have the ceremony of the Mitä′wit.

"The North Wind then came to the mitä′wikō′mik and said, 'Mä′näbŭsh, and all of you ma′nidos have contributed for the welfare of the people the gifts which you possess, but I will grant you one which will surpass them all; I will give them the North Wind so that sickness will not affect them.' Then Mä′näbŭsh said, 'I thank you all for these gifts with which you have endowed me and my brother. I am grateful to the ma′nidos from the east, the south, the west, and the north.'

"The ma′nidos then returned to the respective directions whence they had come."

Again there came a tedious pause in the proceedings when Shō′min had ended his chant, and while the candidate and his companions returned to their respective seats the medicine men smoked and meditated. In time the drum was pushed along to Shu′nien at the right hand, whose turn now came to chant; and while he began to tap the drum, his companions began to shake their rattles as the candidate and his followers again presented themselves for further instruction. The translation of Shu′nien's chant is as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh had built the mitä′wikō′mik as Mashä′ Ma′nido directed, he found his brothers without the plants and medicines necessary for their comfort and health.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh said to his grandmother, 'Grandmother, make me a large bag;' to which she replied by asking, 'What do you want with a bag, Mä′näbŭsh?' He then said, 'I want to call together the Inä′mäqkī′ūᵛ and ask them for their assistance in providing us and my uncles with hunting medicines, and medicines with which they may

be able to cure the diseases with which they are afflicted.' She then made the bag as Mä'näbŭsh had requested, and handed it to him, saying, 'Here, Mä'näbŭsh, is your bag,' whereupon he took it, and laying it on the ground so that he could open the top, he spoke to the Inä'mäqkĭ'ŭ^v^, through the bag, 'My friends, come to me and give me your aid; let plants and roots grow beneath the surface, and also upon it, that I may be able to prepare medicines. The Inä'mäqkĭ'ŭ^v^ came together from all directions, some from beneath the earth, and others from various parts of the sky. They granted the request made by Mä'näbŭsh, and then he called out to the four good mysteries in the sky above him to aid him by granting him their favor. The good mysteries gave him instructions how to fast that he might dream of his ma'nido, who would always be his servant and guardian, and also told him to take the black ashes from the fire wherewith he could blacken his face when he fasted.

"Then he also received from the good mysteries two large drums, one of them to be used in making medicine for good purposes, the other to be employed when he wanted to possess himself of the power for doing harm to his enemies.

"Then the good mysteries gave him the tshi'saqkan, the wigwam built with four posts and wrapped with bark, in which he could fast and dream, so as to enable him to see at any distance where game was to be found, and where his enemies were in hiding.

"Then the good mysteries gave him the small flat rattle, that he might invoke the good ma'nidos when he required their assistance, or when he was fasting and dreaming.

"The good mysteries then instructed him how to make the hunting medicines and also those used to heal the sick. There were to be many varieties of medicines. The sturgeon scale and red medicine were to be used for hunting bear; another substance was good to carry when hunting deer, while another kind was to be used to catch beaver. Mä'näbŭsh was told that, when using the beaver medicine, he was to cut two short sticks, each as long as a finger, and to lay one over the other like a cross, putting the medicine on the sticks where they crossed. This was then to be put in the trap, so that beavers would smell it and come to the place where the trap was set. A beaver would then hunt for the medicine and put his paw into the trap to take it out, when his paw would be caught.

"When Mä'näbŭsh had been instructed in the preparation of these medicines and the manner in which they were to be used, he gathered together the gifts to keep for his uncles and their descendants upon the earth."

By the time the above chant had been completed it was approaching midnight and the greater number of the members of the society retired to their own tents, which had been erected near by. Those, however, who had been selected to assist remained until later in the night.

Smoking proceeded for quite a while, and those of the medicine men who had thus far officiated lay down in their places and slept. The usher carried the drum toward the western end of the inclosure and placed it in front of the first of the second group of four medicine men, whose companion also received the rattles to accompany the singer. The drumming began very gently, but as the singer continued he began to show more and more emotion and vehemence in his actions. His song related to his own personal knowledge of remedies, which knowledge had been obtained by fasting and dreaming, and the purpose of it was that he might thus induce some of his hearers to buy the secrets. Each medicine man claims to be the owner of certain remedies, each of which must be paid for if instruction relating thereto be wanted. In like manner the second medicine man in due time chanted the properties of his specialty, and so also did the third and fourth. During some of the chants the candidate would be called forward, especially at such passages as related to any participation in originally procuring remedies by or through the mediation of Mä'näbŭsh.

The second group of medicine men thus continued to chant, in an interrupted manner, throughout the greater portion of the night. Just before dawn everyone present seemed tired out, not from bodily exertion merely, but from the effect of the dull thuds of the drum beats, which seemed to give one's ears and head a most distressing sensation. Although most of the medicine men had lain down and were now apparently only shapeless masses of color and beads, yet, on account of keeping up appearances, some one would, at odd intervals, begin an intermittent soliloquy relating to Mä'näbŭsh and his good services to the Indian, or more frequently to some special charmed remedy owned by the speaker, or some conspicuous service or exploit performed by him.

As approaching daylight was beginning to show by the roseate tints along the eastern horizon, the entire camp of visitors were wrapped in slumber. A general suspension of work was apparent, and nothing further was done within the inclosure until after breakfast, although some of the medicine men were always present and appeared to be just sufficiently occupied to cause the impression that there was constant labor.

Shortly after sunrise the greater number of the medicine men left the inclosure to get something to eat, but the women brought food to those left on duty. There was no haste manifested, and by about 8 o'clock the usher and an assistant returned to put things in order for the ceremonies of the new day. Mats were rearranged and the floor cleared of charred wood and ashes of the preceding night's fires, and the lower ends of the upper row of mats covering the structure were propped up with short sticks for the purpose of affording ventilation, and also to give the friends of the members and visitors to the ceremony an opportunity of watching the proceedings. When breakfast was over the officiating priests returned and took their former seats. The cau-

didate also returned and was again placed on the left of the first group of officiating medicine men, and almost every one of the male members joined in a ceremonial smoke. In a short time the left-hand member of the first group of four, Nio′pet, began to tap the drum, while the other accompanied him with rattles, and as the candidate approached, surrounded by about a dozen men and women, Nio′pet began to chant:

"My grandson will now be placed on the right path; he shall learn to feel the strength of the Mitä′wit and to be able to survive all danger. He shall be taught how to obtain life from Mashä′ Ma′nido. It is a pleasure to see the goods and other presents before us; it shows good will toward the Mitä′wit and reverence for the teachings of our forefathers—the whiteheads. Always live up to what you are taught."

During this recitative chant the candidate moved his body slightly up and down by gently flexing and extending the limbs, while those surrounding him indulged in more active movement, dancing slowly a little toward the right and back again to the left by hopping on both feet just sufficiently to clear the ground. The movement of the figures and the sound of footfalls was in unison with the drumming. At the conclusion of the dance all returned to their seats, while the drum was pushed to the next singer, Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

After a pause the drumming continued, the candidate again presented himself with his friends, and the chant was renewed. The recitations continued in this manner, differing from the preceding night's program only in individual variations in the songs relating to the Mitä′wit, its origin, benefits, and success. At intervals also one or another of the chief singers would again allude to the death of Na′qpote, the brother of Mä′näbūsh, and his abode where he awaits the arrival of the shades of those who die. In this manner the mortuary services, occupying the interval of time from the beginning of the ceremonies until about 1 o'clock, were conducted. The belief was expressed that Na′qpote had permitted the shade of the dead medicine man to return to the medicine lodge, there to abide from the commencement of the ceremony until its conclusion, and thus to behold the fulfillment of the promise made at his own grave.

At midday the medicine women brought food to the singers and their assistants in the ceremony, while many of the other medicine men left the inclosure and took dinner with their families, who were encamped near by. An hour or more was consumed in this way, and when all returned to their seats within the inclosure, ceremonial smoking was indulged in for a short time. During this interval the usher called upon someone to assist him in removing the blankets and mats from the horizontal pole from which they were suspended, and to carry them to the western end of the inclosed area, where the candidate was to kneel. Here they were spread out, one overlapping the other toward the center of the inclosure, so as to form a covered space of a yard in width and 3 or 4 yards in length.

When the ceremony of smoking was concluded, the lowest in rank of the first group of four medicine men, Nio'pet, began to tap the drum, whereupon his three companions took up the rattles; all four now arose, and as they began to drum and chant the candidate fell in behind the medicine men. The procession then moved slowly along the right or northern side of the inclosure, followed by the second group of four medicine men, and finally, also, by the third set, who had been seated on the southern side. The singer chanted a song, of which the following is a translation:

"The time has now come for us to teach our brother how to secure life. He has been waiting a long time. He has been liberal in giving presents to the Mitä'wit, as Mä'näbūsh taught us to do."

These words were repeated in short sentences, which prolonged the song considerably. At each end of a phrase were added a few prolonged musical tones, meaningless but effective, which also added to the apparent waste of time. This, however, is purposely done to emphasize the importance of the ceremonial.

By the time the song was ended the procession had gone round the inclosure four times. All then took seats, when the drum was passed to the second group of four medicine men, one of whom, remaining seated, then drummed and chanted, being accompanied by rattles in the hands of his associates. The candidate then approached the singer and was surrounded by his friends to the number of twelve or fifteen. The words of the song related to the duty of a medicine man in always following the proper course in life, not to diverge from what is right, and never under any circumstance to discard the teachings of the Mitä'wit.

Again the candidate and his friends returned to their seats, while the drum was carried by the usher to the third group of medicine men, seated on the opposite or southern side of the inclosure. They, in regular order, used the drum and chanted, reciting personal exploits in shamanistic practices and boasting of their powers in exorcism, and the value and efficacy of plants employed by them in certain specified affections. At each chant the candidate approached the singer and stood reverentially before him until the song was ended, when he returned to his seat. Finally, the drum was returned to the chief group of medicine men, the chief officiating one then announcing that the coming portion of the ceremonies would be of an especially important and sacred character, and at the same time reminded his associates that care and deliberation should be exercised in the performance of their duties and services. As other announcements of interest to the members may be made at this stage of the ceremonies, Shu'nien informed the late arrivals of the purpose of my admission into the society. He also stated that several well known members who were jugglers, or tshi'saqka, would perform tricks to impress the audience with the powers possessed by these men.

SHAMAN'S TRICK WITH SNAKE BAG

During a short interval of smoking, in which most of the medicine men participated, one man retired to arrange for the exhibition of his trick. In a few moments he returned to the western entrance of the inclosure, and stood there for an instant until a confederate could approach him to assist. The performer held before him a red flannel bag which measured about 20 inches in width by 30 in depth. Along the top of the opening of the bag were attached fluffy white feathers. The upper corners were held by the hands so as to spread out the bag like a single piece of goods. Then taking the bag between his hands, he rolled it into a ball to show the beholders that there was nothing within. Again taking one of the upper corners in each hand, the performer held the bag once more before the face like a banner, and as he began to dance slowly forward along the southern side of the inclosure, his confederate preceded him, dancing backward, chanting with the performer, and making various gestures before the bag. Presently two snake heads began to emerge from the top of the bag, and gradually became more and more exposed to view, until their bodies protruded perhaps 6 inches (see plate VII). Slowly the heads retreated into the bag, until the performers had turned at the eastern end of the inclosure and were approaching the group of chief medicine men, when the singing increased in tone and time, and the snakes again emerged, only to disappear in the bag by the time the performers arrived at the point of starting. The principal performer then doubled up the bag, put it in the breast of his coat and left the wikŏ'mik, while the assistant returned to his seat.

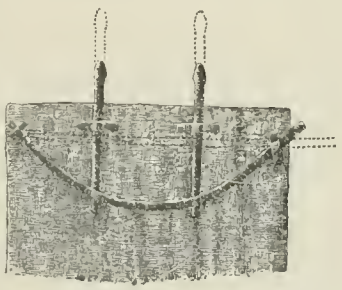

FIG. 14—Inside construction of snake-bag.

That the trick had made a profound impression on the audience was apparent, and silence reigned everywhere. Although seemingly complex, the whole construction of the interior of the bag became apparent as the performer reached a position between myself and the sunlight. The bag was not fully stretched out, and between the corners held by the thumb and forefinger of each hand was visible a strip of cloth or tape, to the middle of which were attached the ends of the stuffed snakes. These ends were only about 8 inches long, and as the tension upon the tape was lessened, the weight of the snakes' bodies forced them down into the bag. The heads and necks emerged through loops, made of pieces of calico, just large enough for those members to slide through easily (figure 14).

Another medicine man then came forward to exhibit his skill in jugglery. His trick consisted in making some small wooden figures of human beings to dance. Sitting flat on the ground in the middle of the inclosure, he stretched out his legs, when an assistant threw across

them a woolen blanket. Two small wooden effigies, about 4 inches in height, were then placed first in a standing posture, but subsequently extended on their backs, at the side of the blanket opposite the performer (figure 15). After a little manipulation, as if adjusting the blanket and figures, the assistant seated himself on the side opposite to and facing the operator. Both then began to chant, very softly at first, but soon reaching higher and shriller notes, when, in accordance with the rhythm, the figures began to move, very slightly at first, but gradually apparently rising higher and higher until they were almost vertical, thus seeming to dance to the song of the juggler and his confederate. It was pretended that the operator had sufficient power to cause the figures to dance, the motion being caused by the operator's

FIG. 15—Dance of wooden effigies.

ma'nido, or tutelary daimon, whose aid could be invoked after proper fasting and chanting. This performance lasted but a very short time, and as the song was concluded, the assistant quickly arose, grasped the figures, and put them into a small flannel bag, while the operator carefully folded up his blanket and returned to his seat.

It was observed that the movement of the figures was produced by threads connecting them with the operator's great toe. During the adjustment of the blanket and figures by the assistant the principal reached beneath the blanket and removed his moccasins so as to be able to utilize the threads already attached to them. The other end was secured to the wooden figures by means of a small ball of spruce gum.

The chief event of the afternoon's performances, however, was yet to come. Kimē'ân, a juggler of renown, was to do a very wonderful

trick; in fact, he pretended to make a bear's claw stand upright on the polished surface of a small mirror, and then to cause the claw to hang to the same surface while the mirror was turned toward the earth. Perfect silence prevailed in the medicine wikŏ′mik as Kimē′ân arose and approached the eastern middle of the inclosure. Taking from his medicine bag a small, round, old-fashioned pocket mirror, he held it up so as to give everyone an opportunity of satisfying himself that there was nothing mysterious apparent; turning around in every direction, he then produced the claw of a black bear, which he grasped about the middle and held up toward the audience. Then, while slowly and softly chanting, he gradually brought the mirror, which was in his left hand, to a level before him, then slowly brought the claw down to the surface of the mirror, stood it up on end and left it there, while he continued to turn in every direction, so as to exhibit the trick, at the same time pretending to take great care lest the claw fall over. In a few moments he stooped a little lower, and with a quick movement of the left hand turned the glass so as to place the claw in the position of being suspended from the glass, without any visible means of support or attachment to the mirror (figure 16). Turning round and round, carefully watching the magic claw, he quickly swung his hand over on its back so as again to bring the mirror surface uppermost. The claw was then removed and the glass put back into the medicine bag, but not quickly enough to deceive at least one of the spectators, for the spot of resin which had held the claw was observed. The resin had previously been placed on the end of the claw, where its presence was visible only under careful inspection.

This trick had great effect on the audience, and gave additional notoriety of the powers of the old juggler.

After the various medicine men had participated again in a ceremonial smoke (partly to allow sufficient time to regain order within the wikŏ′mik), the three sets of shamans, twelve in number, arose, and as the senior quartette began to move westward, along the northern side, the three lower in rank took the drum and rattles and began to chant. As these shamans reached the place occupied by the second group of shamans, they too arose and followed the leaders, as did also the third set of four on the south, until the entire set of shamans were slowly and impressively marching around the interior of the inclosure, chanting in unison a song of but few notes, though often repeated so as to prolong it as much as possible.

The musicians continued to march until they had made the circuit of the inclosure four times, when they retired to their seats, as did also the medicine men from the southern side, leaving only the second group of four medicine men to continue the performance, which now assumed a serious character, and which was most important of all to the candidate, as he was about to receive the new life. The four medicine men now began to move more rapidly toward the candidate, dancing along

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by hopping twice on one foot and then on the other, each at the same time grasping his medicine bag as if holding a gun and making a charge upon an enemy. At the same time and in rhythm with the movement they repeated the word "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," as they came along from the eastern end toward the candidate until just before his body, when each breathed on and thrust forward his medicine bag, with the loud excla-

FIG. 16—Kimē'ăn's trick with claw and mirror.

mation "Hŏ!" This utterance is made with a strong, quick sound, as in imitation of the cry of a startled animal, and is intended to typify the approach of the shade of the bear, as it is said to have approached the candidate when Mä'näbŭsh himself conducted the first ceremonies at the command of Kishä' Ma'nido.

As the first medicine man thrust his bag toward the candidate and passed by, he gradually fell to the rear of the file, allowing the second

CANDIDATE AFTER BEING SHOT

to become the first, when he also in similar manner pretended to shoot at the candidate's breast. At this gesture of shooting, the candidate's body quivered, the motion being, in part, transmitted by Shu'nien, who sat behind and prompted him. The four came around for the third time, making the same curious noise, and when the third medicine man came to the front, breathed on his bag, and pretended to shoot the candidate, the latter's body quivered still more violently than before. As the medicine men passed around for the fourth time, the one to lead the last time, in like manner, fell to the rear, permitting the fourth of the party to become the leader. Thus the dancers advanced, uttering their curious cry of "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," louder and louder until, when a short distance before the candidate, the medicine man breathed on his bag and thrust it forward, and as he did so the candidate fell forward on his face, apparently lifeless. The magic influence contained in the medicine bag had been shot into the candidate's heart, and, being too powerful for him to bear, he became unconscious. It is the belief that if the small shell, called the konä'pamik (*Cypræa moneta*), the sacred emblem of the Mitä'wit, be swallowed by the medicine man, all he is obliged to do to transfer his power to the medicine bag is to breathe on it, the mysterious power and influence being then transmitted by merely thrusting the bag toward the desired object or person. Figure 17 represents the shell used as the konä'pamik.

FIG. 17—Konä'pamik or emblem of the society.

As the candidate fell forward on the ground, Shu'nien arose and joined his associates, and all gathered around the prostrate body. The other assisting medicine men also came forward, and the whole number then formed two files, one on each side of the candidate, and laid on his back their medicine bags (plate VIII). Shu'nien then chanted a few phrases, but repeated them a number of times to heighten the effect on the feelings of the audience. The following is a translation of the original phraseology:

"Thus is shown to you the strength of the Mitä'wit; the konä'pamik was given to Mä'näbŭsh by Mä'ätshawai'edŏk (the Great Mystery), and we have it from Mä'näbŭsh. Our children will feel its influence, and they shall receive life. Our brother, lying before us, shall have life put into his heart. We will now restore him, and instruct him how to use his strength."

Then, as the chant ended, the drum which had been used by Shu'nien was removed by the usher, and each of the medicine men stooped to get his sack. Shu'nien then placed his hand under the candidate's forehead and raised it slightly from the ground, when a konä'pamik dropped from the candidate's mouth. After this he slowly recovered consciousness, arose, and taking the shell in his own hand he placed it

in the palm of his right hand, and while in a stooping posture, with his hand extended, he danced around in various directions toward the right and toward the left, exhibiting the newly found object. He danced very gently, hopping twice on one foot and then on the other; grunting the sound "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," in imitation of the mystery Bear. While the candidate was thus performing in the western end of the inclosure, the other officiating medicine men spat on their own palms containing their individual konä'pamik, while dancing and grunting in a manner similar to the candidate; they, however, went entirely around the interior, showing to the audience their shells. As they again congregated in the western end, at the place of the mat, each quickly put his hand up to his mouth and pretended to swallow the konä'pamik. The effect seemed instantaneous, as each of the medicine men appeared to be taken with partial, and in some instances complete, unconsciousness, while the new member fell to the ground again apparently dead. The medicine men pretended to recover in a few moments, whereas it seemed several minutes ere the candidate resumed consciousness without the assistance of his elders.

As each of the medicine men had now apparently swallowed his shell, he would only have to breathe on the sack and thrust it toward anyone to make its power felt. They believe that should a thrust be made toward one not a mitä'ᵛ the result would, without doubt, be fatal, as the shell thus shot into a human body might not be easily removed, and if removed the person thus making a careless shot would, in turn, have to be shot by the chief officiating medicine man present.

The otter skin medicine bag was now presented to the candidate, and for this purpose he placed himself before the priests, who chanted to him respecting his new state (see plate IX), and as he was expected to try his newly acquired power, he began to make the circuit of the interior of the inclosure, and as he passed along on each side he would occasionally thrust his medicine bag toward someone, who would moan and sink to the ground, but would soon recover. As this was continued, each person shot at was then compelled to arise, follow the candidate, and in like manner shoot one or more persons present. The consequence was that one-half of the entire number of persons present were constantly moving in a sort of hypocycloid, though a diagrammatic scheme would show both inner and outer figures to be oblong, as in figure 18. The hollow squares in this diagram represent persons standing with their backs toward the wall, while the black spots signify the moving ones going forward in the direction of the arrows; and as each comes to his respective standing place he remains, and the procession thus progressing constantly leaves the standing ones at the rear to fall in and continue to march until their turn comes again to stand while the remaining shamans pass by.

The medicine women were especially interested during this part of the ceremony, as it afforded them the only opportunity at which they

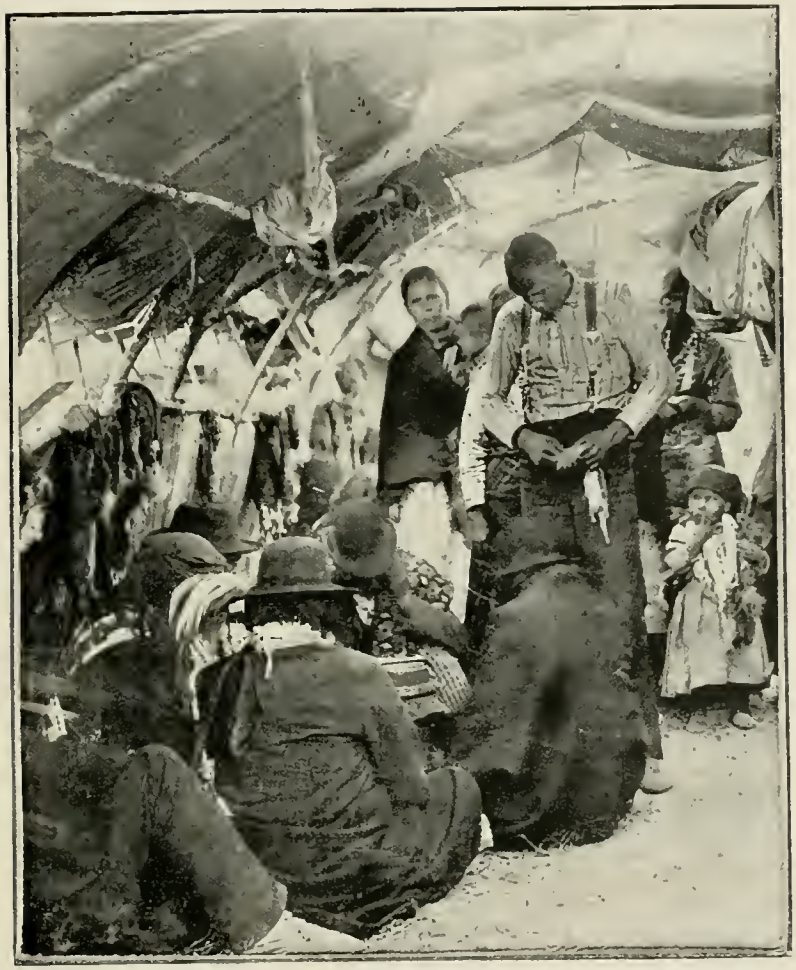


PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CANDIDATE RECEIVING MEDICINE BAG

could appear as active participants. This peculiar movement of walking around the interior, shooting at one another with the medicine bag, and pretending in turn to have been wounded by the konä'pamik, continued for over an hour; suddenly there was an audible wailing sound, as of some one mortally wounded, which caused all but the chief officiating mitä'ʷ, Shu'nien, and a companion to retire quickly to their seats. It was then discovered that a little girl, who had accompanied her mother to the ceremony, had been accidentally hit by a stray konä'pamik, shot from a medicine bag by a careless member. The difficulty that now presented itself was to discover the culprit, and as this could be learned only through an apparently difficult procedure by one whose "medicine" was stronger than that of anyone else, it was Shu'nien's duty, as chief medicine man pro tempore, to make the discovery. He called to his side his three chief assistants, with whom he seemed in animated, though serious, consultation. Presently one of them left the structure by the eastern doorway, the others becoming seated. There was a period of profound silence until the messenger returned with a finely embroidered medicine sack, which he delivered to Shu'nien, who

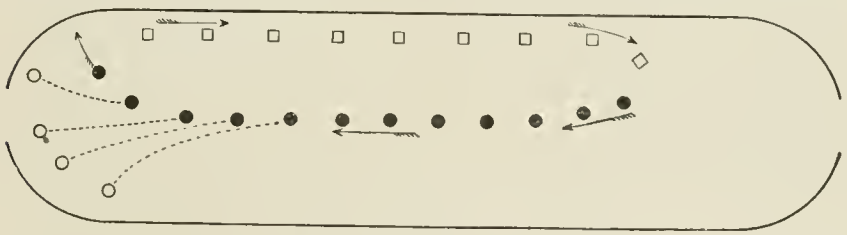


FIG. 18—Diagram showing movement of mitä'wok.

now approached the eastern door, followed by his three assistants, where he began a curious movement, consisting in passing the top, or head, end of the sack up and down and back and forth along each pole and mat of the wigwam, at the same time rapidly uttering the syllables, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ. In this he was joined by his companions, who, together with Shu'nien, crouched forward and kept up a rapid dancing step of hopping alternately on each foot; all of them, furthermore, appeared to watch intently the proceedings, as if to discover the hidden konä'pamik and restore it to its proper place.

This curious, rapid search, accompanied by the grunting sounds, as the medicine bag was made to pass along every possible portion of the structure, continued all along the northern side, around the western entrance, and on the return along the southern side, when suddenly Shu'nien stopped his movement, gazed at his medicine sack, which appeared to be attracted toward a woman who was seated a little apart from the rest, and who was closely enveloped in a shawl. As Shu'nien approached her she threw back the shawl and exposed to view her little girl, who had been wounded. In the child's lap lay the konä'pamik, which the chief seemed eager to secure. Taking it upon the palm of

his right hand, extended forward and about two feet from the ground, he danced rapidly forward and around the interior, closely followed by his companions, all of whom uttered, in rapid succession, the word hŏ, calling attention to the discovery. When the party again reached the place where the shell was found, Shu'nien placed his hand quickly to his mouth, apparently swallowing the shell, when he fell to the ground. He recovered in a moment, blew his breath upon the medicine sack so as to charge it with the mysterious influence and power contained in the shell now within his body, when he started forward aiming at each member present to ascertain who it was that had caused so much trouble and anxiety. The victim was a woman, her presence being discovered by the medicine sack being forcibly repelled within the hands of the experimenter. Thereupon he stopped before her, took deliberate aim and pretended to shoot her when she fell to one side apparently dead. The four medicine men then returned to their proper stations, while the usher carried the medicine bag used in the search to its owner.

The time had now arrived to distribute the presents, and the usher and an assistant removed the blankets, pieces of calico, mats, kettles, and other articles from the pole from which they had been suspended, and carried them before the second group of officiating medicine men. The leader of these gave one blanket each to the chief officiating members, and to his own associates the pieces of calico, but instead of retaining them they presented these goods to the medicine women who had been engaged in the erection of the mitä'wikŏ'mik, the preparation of the feast, and in attendance on the candidate during the intervals at which he stood before the chiefs to listen to the chants. The kettles, mats, and a few other unimportant articles were divided among the second and third groups of medicine men.

By this time the day was almost spent, when the chief, Shu'nien, and the candidate—as mourner—started for the eastern door followed by two mitä'wok carrying the drum and chanting, who in turn were followed by all present, taking up a line of march to the grave, where they formed a circle. After considerable drumming, accompanied by a slight attempt at dancing, the procession returned and entered the inclosure at the western door. After all had taken their former positions, the drumming ceased, the chief announced the ceremonies ended, and all started for their respective homes.

Notes on the Ceremonies

Many others of the members present at the Mitä'wit ceremonies were credited with the power of performing tricks of various kinds, but only three, already referred to, could be induced to exhibit their skill. The Indians invariably claim that such tricks can be performed only through the intervention of ma'nidos, who must first be invoked by fasting and the making of gifts. The sweat bath must also be taken by these

prestigiators previous to such attempts at invocation. The ability of a medicine man to excel another in juggling is believed to be due to the fact that his "medicine" is the stronger. By the expression "medicine" is usually meant the power reputed to be possessed by a man's fetish or charmed object adopted after his first fast to typify his tutelary daimon, or so-called guardian mystery.

The Menomini Indians relate some curious tales of wonderful feats performed by medicine men and medicine women in the olden time, when greater faith was placed in the ma'nidos, and when people had the power to obtain "stronger medicine." One exploit referred to by the Menomini was later on also described by an Ottawa chief, as the incident occurred at a meeting of the Ottawa medicine society in Michigan, at which a number of medicine men from other tribes were present, because the Honorable Lewis Cass had also intimated his desire to witness the dance. The ceremonial had progressed with unflagging interest until toward the close of the day, and as Mr Cass is said to have observed an old Ojibwa medicine woman, who had come up at each dance to actively participate in the exercises, he asked someone near by why this old woman took such an active part, as she appeared rather uninteresting and had nothing to say, and apparently nothing to do except to shake her snake-skin medicine bag. The woman heard the remark and became offended, because she was known among her own people as a very powerful mitä'kwe. In an instant she threw the dry snake-skin bag toward the offender, when the skin became a live serpent which rushed at Mr Cass and ran him out of the crowd. The snake then returned to the medicine woman, who picked it up, when it appeared again as a dry skin bag.

In the chants rendered by the four chief mitä'wok, relating to the Indian genesis of mankind, the words are intoned in a recitative style, though rapidly and duplicated, as before mentioned. In addition to this there are but two tones employed, the initial two or three syllables being uttered in the first note, while the remainder of the phrase ends in a tone a third lower. This method is followed by each one throughout his chant. When the service is changed from the mortuary observance of the first evening and the following night to the preparatory course on the next morning, the music of the chants is entirely changed. The scope of the tones employed is limited, embracing as a rule but five, while the final syllable of each phrase is prolonged into a vowel sound, usually "hō" or "he," (which is merely interjectional and without definite meaning); though, unlike the songs of the Ojibwa, there is a pronounced quaver resulting from joining to the note a half-note lower, thus giving one the impression that the note was chanted in a tremulous manner.

It has been observed, too, at some of the meetings of the society, that certain mitä'wok, to prolong the ceremony, will invent a phrase to suit a circumstance that may occur, and as the musical notation is so simple

he will be joined, after two or three repetitions, by his assistants as readily as if they had for a long time been familiar with it. This

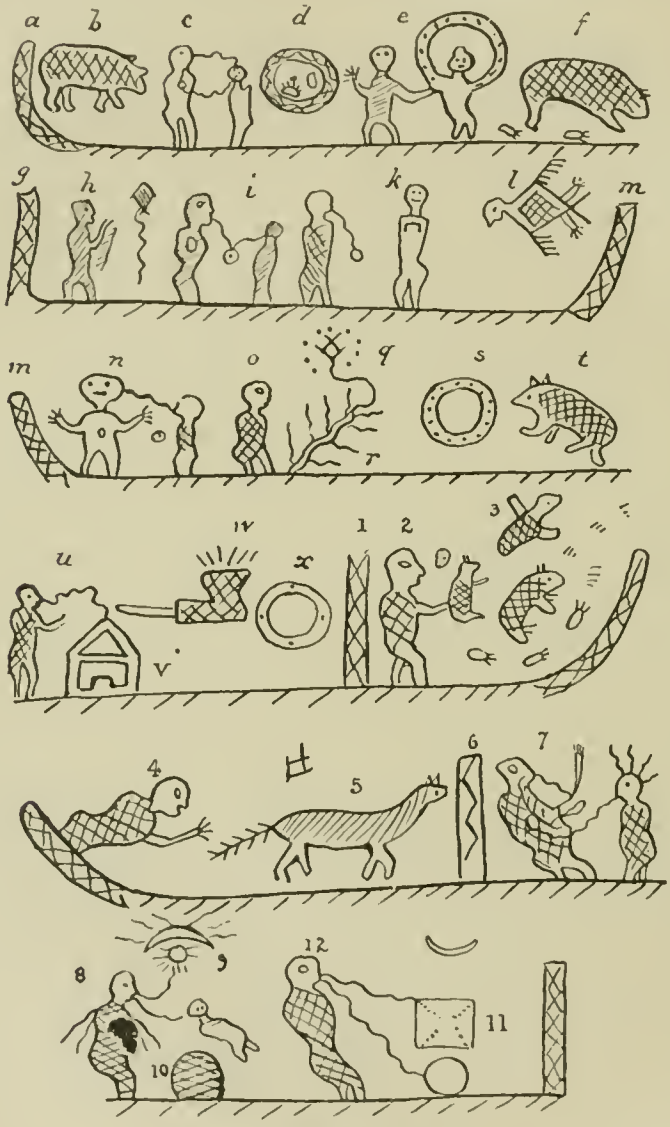


FIG. 18a—Mnemonic songs.

would scarcely be possible in the Ojibwa ceremonies as practiced in northern Minnesota.

The Menomini songs of the Ojibwa shamans have been carefully presented in my before-mentioned exposition of the cult society of

that tribe. The pictographic system was there explained, and numerous examples given to show in what manner the shaman is enabled to chant his medicine songs, the ritualistic language of the order of ceremonies, or to recount his exploits and deeds of valor. The Menomini admit that in former years they were more familiar with the recording upon birch bark of mnemonic characters, but that now but few such scrolls exist among them. After a careful search among the Menomini tribe, I met with but few examples of birch bark bearing rude outlines of human and geometric figures, which indicated clearly that they had no allusion to any portion of the medicine society. The only noteworthy instance met with is an illustration of a birch-bark record published by Mr J. G. Kohl.[1] This record was copied by him in the lodge of an Indian who had arrived from northern Wisconsin. Upon inquiry, the Indian informed him that the record had been received by him from his brother-in-law, "an Indien de la folle avoine," or a "Menomeenee," who had given it to him only on his deathbed. The Indian furthermore told Mr Kohl that his brother-in-law had spent much time to learn it all, and that he had studied and practiced it for months.

The record, of which figure 18*a* is a reproduction, although said to have been the property of a Menomini, has every indication of Ojibwa art, and if not made by that tribe, the influence of Ojibwa art as illustrated in the Mide' rites was strongly impressed upon the possible Menomini artist, he apparently having obtained his instruction and initiation among the Ojibwa at Lac Court Oreille, or Lac Flambeau, between all of which regions much intercourse between these two tribes is conducted. Kohl says:

> When I asked him [the Menomini informant] if he could teach me some of his knowledge, and explain the leading features, he replied that "it was very difficult to learn." I assured him that I should be satisfied if I could only reach so far with my weak understanding as to see how difficult it was, and why it was so; and he then condescended to give me a few explanations. I will repeat them exactly as I received them from him, and only interrupt them here and there with a parenthesis and marks of interrogation:
>
> "The crooked sign at *a* is the sign that the song commences here.
>
> "The bear (at *b*) begins the dance: 'Il marche là pour signe de la vie.'
>
> "At *c* stand a boy and his teacher (father, uncle, or grandfather), who instructs him. You see the heart of the good teacher, and the stream of discourse which flows in a serpentine line from his heart through his mouth to the head of the boy, as well as the boy's answers, which flow back from his mouth to the heart of his teacher.
>
> "*d* is the circle of the earth, with the sacred shells in it. (?)
>
> "*e*, repetition of the couple, the teacher and boy." (The scholar appears to have made considerable progress for his head is inclosed in the "circle of heaven," as if in a nimbus of sanctity.)
>
> While pointing to the bear and his traces (at *f*), my Indian gave me the advice: "On doit suivre l'ours par ses pistes." I can not say whether this was a material part of the song, or merely the insertion of a good and useful Indian proverb.
>
> "*g* is a sign to pause. Up to that the song goes slowly. Afterwards a quicker time begins.

[1] Kitchi-Gami, Wanderings round Lake Superior, London, 1860, p. 292.

"At *h* a boy stands, watching a flying bird.

"*i*, two men, who expel shells from their mouths, as they are in the habit of doing at their ceremonies.

"*k*, the Midé priest, with his medicine-bag on his arm.

"*l* is not, as might be supposed, a flying eagle, but the medicine-bag of the man *k*." . . .

"*m*, pause, or concluding bar of a division of the song. At this bar dancing and beating the drum commence.

"At *n* a new division commences." (It represents a couple exerting themselves to expel a shell.)

"At *o* a man is walking, not, as might be supposed, on a many-branched tree (*p*), but on the path of the life and the law." . . . (This path, it will be seen, has many side paths. But over his head a bird (*q*) hovers, surrounded by a ring of small birds, like a cluster of stars. The man (*o*) appears to be looking up to this cluster as a reward or crown of victory.)

"Tibekana," the Indian said, "meant, in his language, 'the path of life.'" A portion of the word simply means, in the Ojibbeway, 'trail' or 'path.' And the whole means 'the way of the dead,' 'the path leading into paradise,' or 'the path of life.'

"*s*, the ring of heaven.

"The bear (*t*), who, by the way, is no bear, but a man in the form of a bear, is marching toward this ring. He is trying to reach the opening to it, 'le centre du monde,' or 'le trou de bonheur.'

"*u*, the priest of the temple, or medicine wigwam (*v*), who makes an oration at the end of this division. The speech is depicted by the undulating line, which goes down from his mouth to the roof of the temple.

"As a perfect conclusion of this part, there is a turn at eating and smoking, indicated by the pipe (*w*) and the dish (*x*).

1. "Great bar—grand pause. The main affair, the great ceremony of the reception of a new member into the order of the Midés, really terminates here.

"The man (at 2) is the new member just received. He emerges from the temple into the open air, with his powerful medicine-bag (3) in his hand. He tries its strength and consecration, and the animals, both bears and birds, appear to fly before him." (While blowing on them with his medicine-bag, he also seems to be snow-balling them with the sacred shell.)

Thus strengthened by magic arts, and initiated into the Midé order, he at length shoots (at 4) an arrow, and, like Max in the Freischütz, brings down a bird from the air. It falls at his feet (at 4). The Indian told me it was a kinion (warrior-eagle).

"For this he is obliged to offer a dog, as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit (5).

6. "Pause, or concluding bar of this division." (The pictures that now follow are so fantastic, and my Indian's explanations were so fragmentary, that I must give up all attempt at any continuous description.)

At 7, instructions about the constantly recurring vomiting of shells seems to be again represented.

"At 8," I was told, "a song is represented between the sun (9) and the earth (10). The song," my Indian said, "must be sung exactly at mid-day, because the sun is then floating perpendicularly over the earth."

The quadrangle (at 11) is meant for a piece of cloth, such as the priests receive as a reward and payment after their exertions. I cannot say, though, why this piece of cloth again hangs between the sun and earth.

The priest (at 12) sings "Le voila! le sacrifice, qui a été donné au grand-prêtre!"[1]

There are a number of statements in the preceding remarks that are not exactly in accordance with the teachings of the society, and the true

[1] Kohl, Kitchi-Gami, op. cit., pp. 292–296.

interpretation can be obtained only from the priests of the order, after one is regularly entitled to receive such information by initiation and the payment of fees, presents, and food.

The figures marked *c* are in the attitude of conversation, as above mentioned and as is indicated by the voice lines extending between the two persons indicated. Two similar characters at *i* are, according to the general system of pictographic interpretation of the Indians, conversing about the migis or konä'pamik, both voice lines centering on the same object.

The figure at *o* is at the beginning of the path of life, the first step of which is made in the mitä'wikŏ'mik, and the interpretation of which is explained with more or less clearness in the mitä'ᵛ recitative chant rendered by Shu'nien (see page 79).

Reference to the pipe (*w*) and dish (*x*) indicates the observance of ceremonial smoking, for upon the ring are noticed four spots at the cardinal points, the four directions in which smoke is puffed by those participating.

The new member, at 2, is said to be trying his powers as a mitä'ᵛ. The konä'pamik is shown between his face and his medicine bag, while the three oblong characters beneath the bear denote the footprints of that animal as he departs.

It is probable that the slight dissimilarities and inconsistencies which appear from year to year in the dramatic and ritualistic order of ceremonies of the Mitä'wit are attributable largely to the fact that no pictographic records or mnemonic songs are now employed. In consequence of this carelessness and disregard of an old custom, the newly elected member is enabled to familiarize himself with the traditional order of procedure only by close observation and by regular attendance at the recurring annual meetings. He has no mnemonic guide by means of which he can refresh his memory by instant reference to a bark record; neither are the members of the society in perfect accord in the general conduct of the ceremonies, since among the tribe under consideration no cosmogonic charts, such as exist among the northern Ojibwa, and of which three variants have been presented in connection with the subject of the cult society of the latter tribe,[1] are now known. It is quite apparent, therefore, that under such circumstances a gradual degeneration and abbreviation of the dramatic rendering of the ritual as well as of the original phraseology pertaining thereto is practically unavoidable and accounts to a greater or less extent for the changes observed and above referred to.

As before stated, the Menomini and Winnebago lived side by side for an indefinite period, and through constant intercourse, which thus became possible, the mitä'ᵛ ceremonies, as performed by these tribes, without doubt became very similar in detail. The analogous medicine ceremonial of the Winnebago Indians is described somewhat fully in a

[1] Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, for 1885–86, 1891, pp. 143–300.

report to Henry R. Schoolcraft by J. E. Fletcher, United States Indian subagent for that tribe in 1848, in the following words:

This feast is an ancient custom or ceremony; it is accompanied with dancing and is sometimes called the medicine dance. The members or communicants of this feast constitute a society having secrets known only to the initiated. . . .

They have no regular or stated times for holding this feast; and all the members do not attend at the same time, but only such as are invited by the master of the feast. Persons desirous of joining this society will, in some cases, use the most rigid economy for years, to enable them to lay up goods to pay the initiating fee. This fee is not fixed at any stipulated amount; those who join pay according to their ability. Sometimes goods to the amount of $200 and $300 are given by an individual. Goods given for this purpose generally consist of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, wampum, and trinkets, and are given to the medicine men, who perform the ceremony of initiating the member. When one or more persons make application to join the society, preparations are made for a feast and dance, which is held in an arched lodge, or bower, constructed of poles, and covered with tent-cloth and other materials. The size of the bower is made to conform to the number of persons to be invited, and this number depends much on the ability of the person who makes the feast. The width of a bower is about 16 feet, the length varying from 10 to 75 yards. The members of the society sit on each side of the bower, the center being reserved for dancing. Candidates for admission into this society are required to fast three days previous to being initiated. At some period during this fast they are taken by the old medicine men to some secluded secret spot, and instructed in the doctrines and mysteries of the society; and it is said that the candidates are, during this fast, subjected to a severe sweating process, by covering them with blankets and steaming them with herbs. The truth of this saying is not here vouched for, but the appearance of the candidate, when brought forward to be initiated in public, corroborates it.

The public ceremony of initiation usually takes place about 11 o'clock a. m. The public exercises of dancing, singing, praying, and exhorting, which precede the initiations, commence the previous morning. Before the candidates are brought forward, the ground through the center of the bower is carpeted with blankets and broadcloth laid over the blankets. The candidates are then led forward and placed on their knees upon the carpet, near one end of the bower, and facing the opposite end. Some eight or ten medicine men then march in single file round the bower with their medical bags in their hands. Each time they perform the circuit they halt, and one of them makes a short address; this is repeated until all have spoken. They then form a circle and lay their medicine bags on the carpet before them; then they commence retching and making efforts to vomit, bending over until their heads come nearly in contact with their medicine bags, on which they vomit, or deposit from their mouth a small white sea shell about the size of a bean; this they call the medicine stone and claim that it is carried in the stomach and vomited up on these occasions. These stones they put in the mouth of their medicine bags, and take their position at the end of the bower opposite to and facing the candidates. They then advance in line, as many abreast as there are candidates; holding their medicine bags before them with both hands, they dance forward, slowly at first, and uttering low, gutteral sounds as they approach the candidates, their step and voice increasing in energy, until with a violent "Ongh!" they thrust their medicine bags at their breasts. Instantly, as if struck with an electric shock, the candidates fall prostrate on their faces, their limbs extended, their muscles rigid, and quivering in every fiber. Blankets are now thrown over them, and they are suffered to lie thus a few moments. As soon as they show signs of recovering from the shock, they are assisted to their feet and led forward. Medicine bags are then put in their hands and medicine stones in their mouths; they are now medicine men or women, as the

case may be, in full communion and fellowship. The new members, in company with the old, now go round the bower in single file, knocking members down promiscuously by thrusting their medicine bags at them (plate XXXI). After continuing this exercise for some time, refreshments are brought in, of which they all partake. Dog's flesh is always a component part of the dish served on these occasions. After partaking of the feast they generally continue the dance and other exercises for several hours. The drum and rattle are the musical instruments used at this feast. The most perfect order and decorum are observed throughout the entire ceremony. The members of this society are remarkably strict in their attendance at this feast. Nothing but sickness is admitted as an excuse for not complying with an invitation to attend. Members sometimes travel 50 miles, and even farther, to be present at a feast when invited.

The secret of the society is kept sacred. It is remarkable that neither want nor a thirst for whisky will tempt the members of this society to part with their medicine bags.

Whether these medicine men possess the secret of mesmerism or magnetic influence, or whether the whole system is a humbug and imposition, is difficult to determine. A careful observation of the ceremonies of this order for six years has been unable to detect the imposition, if there be one; and it is unreasonable to suppose that an imposition of this character could be practiced for centuries without detection. There is no doubt that the tribe generally believe that their medicine men possess great power.[1]

This ceremonial, which appears from all available evidence to have been originally an Algonquian production, seems to have made its impress upon the cult ceremonies of, or perhaps even to have been adopted by, other tribes. When Carver[2] met with the Naudowessies (Sioux), he "found that the nations to the westward of the Mississippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior" still continued the "use of the Pawwaw or Black dance," which partook of the character of the jugglers' performances, as he speaks of "the devil being raised in this dance by the Indians." He next refers to the society of the "Wakon-Kitchewah," or "Friendly Society of the Spirit," which is composed of persons of both sexes, but such only as are of exceptional character, and who receive the approbation of the whole body. His description is sufficiently intelligible to show that the ceremonial was that of the Algonquian medicine society, though it has been greatly perverted, as practiced even in former times by the Ojibwa and Menomini Indians. The assemblage occurred at about 12 oclock, when the sun was near the zenith, which they consider a good omen. The chiefs were dressed in their best apparel, in long robes, and painted. In the words of this author—

When the assembly was seated and silence proclaimed, one of the principal chiefs arose, and in a short but masterly speech informed his audience of the occasion of their meeting. He acquainted them that one of their young men wished to be admitted into their society, and taking him by the hand presented him to their view, asking them at the same time whether they had any objection to his becoming one of their community.

No objection being made, the young candidate was placed in the center and four of the chiefs took their stations close to him. After exhorting him by turns not to

[1] Schoolcraft, Inform. Ind. Tribes, pt. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 286–288, pl. xxxi.

[2] Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, London, 1778, p. 270 et seq.

faint under the operation he was about to go through, but to behave like an Indian and a man, two of them took hold of his arms and caused him to kneel; another placed himself behind him so as to receive him when he fell, and the last of the four retired to the distance of about 12 feet from him, exactly in front.

This disposition being completed, the chief that stood before the kneeling candidate began to speak to him with an audible voice. He told him that he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life; to this he added that the communication, however terrifying, was a necessary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted.

As he spoke this he appeared to be greatly agitated, till at last his emotions became so violent that his countenance was distorted and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and color like a small bean at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and by the assistance of the other two laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs and to strike him on the back, giving him such blows as seemed more calculated to still the quick than to raise the dead. During these extraordinary applications the speaker continued his harangue, desiring the spectators not to be surprised, or to despair of the young man's recovery, as his present inanimate situation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the spirit on faculties that had hitherto been unused to inspirations of this kind.

The candidate lay several minutes without sense or motion, but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to discover some symptoms of returning life. These, however, were attended with strong convulsions and an apparent obstruction in his throat. But they were soon at an end, for having discharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the closest inspection I had not perceived to enter it, he soon after appeared to be tolerably recovered. . . . He then also charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren.

All those who had been admitted within the rails now formed a circle around their new brother, and, the music striking up, the great chief sung a song, celebrating as usual their martial exploits.

The only music they make use of is a drum, which is composed of a piece of a hollow tree curiously wrought, and over one end of which is strained a skin. This they beat with a single stick, and it gives a sound that is far from harmonious, but it just serves to beat time with. To this they sometimes add the chichicoe, and in their war dances they likewise use a kind of fife, formed of a reed, which makes a shrill harsh noise.

The whole assembly were by this time united, and the dance began. Several singers assisted the music with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produce together a not unpleasing but savage harmony. This was one of the most agreeable entertainments I saw whilst I was among them.

I could not help laughing at a singular childish custom I observed they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the least appearance of conjuration. Most of the members carried in their hands an otter or marten's skin, which, being taken whole from the body and filled with wind, on being compressed made a squeaking noise through a small piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this instrument was presented to the face of any of the company, and the sound emitted, the person receiving it instantly fell down to appear-

SPLITTING BARK

ance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on the ground together; but immediately recovering, they rose up and joined again in the dance. This seemed to afford even the chiefs themselves infinite diversion.[1]

CEREMONIES OF 1891

During the summer of 1891, when the time arrived for holding a meeting of the Mitä′wit, I again visited Keshena. The promoter of the ceremony was Äkwinē′mi Mo′sihât, who desired to present as a candidate his nephew, son of his lately deceased sister. The usual arrangements respecting the sending of invitations and the designation of assistant mitä′wok were made; and two or three days before the holding of the ceremony Mo′sihât, accompanied by his wife and a few friends, went to the ground selected and prepared to erect the mitä′wikŏ′mik. The poles were cut and planted along the outline of the oblong structure projected, and both the vertical ones, which were arched across and secured to those on the opposite side, as well as the horizontal rods, were all tied securely together by means of strips of basswood bark. The interior bark only is used; it is made soft and pliable by soaking in boiling water, after which it is split into strands of a finger's width. This process of bark stripping is illustrated in plate X.

The mitä′wikŏ′mik was placed so as to extend north-and-south instead of east-and-west as directed according to the ritual. The reason given for this departure was that the place selected for the ceremony was the most favorable that could be found convenient to the grave; and as the grave of the deceased (in whose memory the feast as usual was given) was south of this spot it was necessary to have the traditional "western end" of the structure directed toward the grave. Thus the actual south was the ceremonial west, and was so treated and considered throughout the performance.

The chief mitä′wok at this ceremony were, for the first four, as follows: (1) Äkwinē′mi Mo′sihât; (2) Nio′pet; (3) Ni′aqtawâ′pomi; and (4) Naq′pote. The second set consisted of (1) Mai′akinĕ′u[v]; (2) Kowâ′pemī′u; (3) Shu′nien; and (4) Kimē′ân. All of the preceding were Menomini excepting Kowâ′pemī′u, who was a Potawatomi. Another set of four had been designated, but, as they were unavoidably prevented from reporting in time, substitutes were appointed for the first night's service. The recitations relating to the gifts, the tobacco, and the food prepared for the visitors, began as before, all in accordance with the injunctions of Mä′näbŭsh. The tradition relating to the birth of Mä′näbŭsh was somewhat different from that of the preceding year, as it was given by Shu′nien. Nio′pet chanted the following version of the genesis:

"There was an old woman, named Noko′mis, who had an unmarried daughter. The daughter gave birth to twin boys, one of whom died, as did also the mother.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 273–278.

"Noko'mis then wrapped the living child in soft, dry grass, laid it on the ground at the extreme end of her wigwam, and placed over it a wooden bowl to protect it. She then took the body of her daughter and the other grandchild and buried them at some distance from her habitation. When she returned to the wigwam, she sat down and mourned for four days; but at the expiration of the fourth day she heard a slight noise within the wigwam, which she soon found to come from the wooden bowl. The bowl moved, when she suddenly remembered that her living grandchild had been put under it. Upon removing the bowl she beheld a little white rabbit, with quivering ears, and on taking it up said: 'O, my dear little Rabbit, my Mä'näbŭsh!' She cherished it, and it grew. One day the Rabbit sat up on its haunches and hopped slowly across the floor of the wigwam, which caused the earth to tremble. Then the ânä'maqkĭ'ñ, or evil underground beings, said to one another: 'What has happened? A great ma'nido is born somewhere,' and they immediately began to devise means whereby Mä'näbŭsh might be destroyed.

"When Mä'näbŭsh grew to be a young man he thought it time to prepare himself to assist his uncles (the people) to better their condition. He then said to Noko'mis, 'Grandmother, make me four sticks, that I may be able to sing.' She made for him four sticks, the pä'kähē'känäk', with which he could beat time when singing. When he received these sticks he went away to an open flat place, where he built a long house or wigwam. He then began to sing: 'Ne'mki'anka, hē hē; E^{n}'toshē'hawōk, hē, hē; mo'natoak', hä, hē; Ni'nahapi'o nit esh'kodōm sasaq'kodek. Ne'pon ni'kati'nanan wike'in na aoake me tshe, sho aietshaqketokek." [*Translation:* I am born to create animals (for my uncles). I can create my fire that the sparks may reach the sky. My arrow I am going to take out, so that while the earth stands there will be enough to eat.][1]

"While thus singing and calling together his uncles he told them that he would give them the Mitä'wit, so that they could cure disease. He gave them plants for food so that they should no longer want for anything. He gave them medicine bags, made of the skins of the mink, the weasel, the black rattlesnake, the massasauga rattlesnake, and the panther. Into each of these he put samples of all the medicines, and taught their use. Mä'näbŭsh lived for many years after this, and taught his uncles how to do many useful things."[2]

When this portion of the recitative chant had been completed by Nio'pet, there was a lull in the proceedings while the drum was passed on to the next mitä'^{r}, to be used as an accompaniment to his chant; and after the others in succession completed their portions of the ritual, the

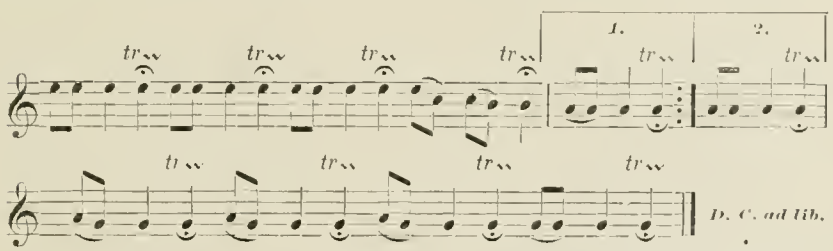
[1] The spoken words are different from those as pronounced in chanting. The chanted words, though not exactly archaic, are yet different from the modern Menomini, which may be attributable, perhaps, to their (supposed) Ojibwa ritualistic origin.

[2] The word Mä'näbŭsh is derived from ma-shä', "great," and wabŭs, "rabbit," and signifies, "Great Rabbit," because he was to perform great deeds. The Ojibwa etymology is almost identical—mishä', and wäbus.

drum again came to Nio′pet in turn, when he concluded the story of Mä′näbŭsh, as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh had accomplished the works for which Kishä′ Ma′nido sent him down to the earth, he went far away and built his wigwam on the northeastern shore of a large lake, where he took up his abode. As he was alone, the good ma′nidos concluded to give him for a companion his twin brother, whom they brought to life and called Naq′pote [which signifies an expert marksman]. He was formed like a human being, but, being a ma′nido, could assume the shape of a wolf, in which form he hunted for food. Mä′näbŭsh was aware of the anger of the bad ma′nidos who dwelt beneath the earth, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and warned his brother, the Wolf, never to return home by crossing the lake, but always to go around along the shore. Once after the Wolf had been hunting all day long he found himself directly opposite his wigwam, and being tired, concluded to cross the lake. He had not gone halfway across when the ice broke, so the Wolf was seized by the bad ma′nidos, and destroyed.

"Mä′näbŭsh at once knew what had befallen his brother, and in his distress mourned for four days. Every time that Mä′näbŭsh sighed the earth trembled, which caused the hills and ridges to form over its surface. Then the shade of Moqwai′o, the Wolf, appeared before Mä′näbŭsh, and knowing that his brother could not be restored Mä′näbŭsh told him to follow the path of the setting sun and become the chief of the shades in the Hereafter where all would meet. Mä′näbŭsh then secreted himself in a large rock near Mackinaw. Here his uncles, the people, for many years visited Mä′näbŭsh, and always built a long lodge, the mitä′wikŏ′mik, where they sang; so when Mä′näbŭsh did not wish to see them in his human form he appeared to them in the form of a little white rabbit, with trembling ears, just as he had first appeared to Noko′mis."

Following is the notation of the song given by the mitä′ᵛ. The prolonged syllables employed were "he, he," with the lower note on "yo, ho."

On the completion of the chant, Nio′pet passed the drum to the next singer on his right. The subsequent portions of the ceremonies did not vary greatly from those of 1890.

The ceremony of shooting the konä′pamik was completed early in the afternoon, after which the new member tried his powers on those pres-

ent. As the grave of the dead was several miles away, the procession could not carry out the usual routine of ceremonies usually performed at the place of interment, but in lieu thereof they marched around the structure four times, the leading mitä'ʷ carrying the drum and chanting a very monotonous song of few words, repeated an indefinite number of times.

NOTES ON THE CEREMONIES

Another version of the death of the brother of Mä'näbŭsh is given in the following Menomini myth, which accounts also for the white crescent on the breast of the kingfisher, *Ceryle alcyon*; it is called Okä'skimâ'nĭ häs Hä'tamkä'sit, the Story of the Kingfisher:

"One time the Wolves saw that Mä'näbŭsh was alone and without companions, so they decided to give him a Wolf, Moqwai'o, one of their own number, as a brother. These two, Mä'näbŭsh and Moqwai'o, encamped on the eastern shore of a large lake, and while Mä'näbŭsh remained near camp to attend to his duties Moqwai'o went off each day in search of food. Mä'näbŭsh told his brother, Moqwai'o, that when he returned to come back to their wigwam he should never cross the lake, but always come around by the shore line.

"One day, toward night, when Moqwai'o was returning, he came to the shore directly opposite the wigwam, and on looking across the ice he realized that if he were to go by the shore it would require a long time to get to the wigwam, whereas if he crossed the ice he could accomplish the remainder in a short time. Moqwai'o thought, 'Now, why should I not cross the ice; why should Mä'näbŭsh not wish me to do it; am I not one of the fleetest of all the runners in the world?' Then Moqwai'o decided to risk crossing the ice, and soon he was making long and rapid leaps over the surface. He had not gone more than half way before the ice began to break up, the pieces of ice separating so that each leap was greater than the one before, when suddenly Moqwai'o found that he had but one more leap to make to reach the shore, but upon attempting to make it he fell short of the distance, and was pulled beneath the water by Mi'shikine'nĭk, who killed him.

"When Moqwai'o failed to return to the wigwam, Mä'näbŭsh was much troubled and immediately began to search far and wide for his brother Moqwai'o. One time during this search Mä'näbŭsh was walking beneath some large trees, when he beheld, high up among the branches, Okä'skimâ'nĭ, the Kingfisher. Mä'näbŭsh then asked Okä'skimâ'nĭ, 'What are you doing up there?' Then Okä'skimâ'nĭ said, 'They have killed Moqwai'o, and in a short time they are going to throw out the carcass, so that as soon as I see it I am going to eat it.' This angered Mä'näbŭsh, and he decided to punish Okä'skimâ'nĭ, so he called to him, 'Come down, and I will give you this collar to hang about your neck.' Okä'skimâ'nĭ then suspected that the speaker was Mä'näbŭsh, the brother of Moqwai'o, and was afraid to descend, but Mä'näbŭsh again spoke to Okä'skimâ'nĭ, 'Come down, and have no

SUDATORY WITH BLANKET REMOVED FROM FRONT

fear; I merely wish to place about your neck this necklace which I wear, and from which is suspended the white shell.' Then Okä'skimâ'ni· came down, but suspecting Mä'näbŭsh he kept a sharp watch over his movements. Mä'näbŭsh placed the necklace about the neck of Okä'skimâ'nĭ· so that the white shell ornament was suspended over the breast, and while pretending to tie the ends of the cord back of the neck of Okä'skimâ'nĭ', Mä'näbŭsh had made one turn and was going to strangle his victim when he slipped away and escaped. The white spot may be seen on the breast of Okä'skimâ'nĭ' even to this day."

The sweat lodge, already mentioned, is resorted to by the tshi'saqka, and frequently, also, by the mitä'ᵛ, before attempting any serious or dangerous undertaking. The structure is made by placing in the ground in a circular form, having a diameter of 4 or 5 feet, some saplings 1½ to 2 inches in thickness, then bending the tops over the middle of the inclosure thus formed and tying them to the opposite poles, so that each pair forms a perfect hoop (plate XI). This dome-shape structure is then covered with bark, canvas, or blankets, to make it as close and tight as possible. When the person desiring the bath enters the structure, an assistant is engaged near by in heating four large stones, each weighing from 8 to 15 pounds. While they are being prepared, the mitä'ᵛ within continues to chant, and as soon as the stones are sufficiently hot they are rolled in, when the mitä'ᵛ blows upon them a spray, which he produces by filling his mouth from a bowl of water. Presently the small structure becomes filled with hot vapor, which causes his body to perspire profusely. When the bather emerges he sometimes plunges into a stream if one be near at hand.

In the account of the customs of the savages of Canada, obtained from the French archives and now designated as the "Cass manuscripts," dated 1723, there is a reference to the alleged abiding place of Mä'näbŭsh, as follows:

> Near Mackinaw there is a rock which, from a distance, has the outline of a sitting rabbit, by them called "Michapaux," which they affirm to have been a Great Spirit or Manitou that once presided over their ancestors, not allowing them to want for anything. Then they succeeded in every undertaking. But by some misfortune, the Spirit has withdrawn into Michapaux. When they pass there, they always leave something to render him more favorable.[1]

Alloüez mentioned the same myth in his letter of 1660, referring to the Indians of Michilimackinac. He states that "Leurs fables sur cette Isle sont agréables," and adds:

> Ils disent que cette Isle est le Pays natal d'un de leurs Dieux nommé Michabons, c'est à dire le·grand Lieure, Ovisaketchak, qui est celuy qui a creé la Terre, et que ce fut dans ces Isles qu'il inventa les rets pour prendre du poisson, aprés avoir consideré attentivement l'araignée dans le temps qu'elle travailloit à sa toile pour y prendre des mouches.[2]

Subsequent to the ceremony, Nio'pet gave an account of the experience of some men who wanted to see Mä'näbŭsh and to request of him

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii., 1857, p. 145.
[2] Relations des Jésuites, 1670, p. 93.

particular favors. The following is a translation of the story, without the repetition of words and phrases:

"A long time after Mä'näbŭsh had left his people, a party of ten men was made up to go in search of him. They set out and after a long day's journey went into camp for the night. On the next day they traveled far, and at night again slept on the ground. On the third day they started early, but after a long journey they still failed to find any trace of the whereabouts of Mä'näbŭsh. As they were sitting around the campfire in the evening they heard some one drumming and singing. The sound did not appear to be very far away; still they retired, as they had had a long day's walk.

"On the following morning they still heard the sound of drumming and singing, so they started in the direction of it, but at night they appeared to be no nearer than when they started in the morning. In this way they went along each day until the tenth day after their departure from their camp, when they suddenly came to a large wigwam. The ground around on the outside was bare and smooth, and the party went forward to the entrance and looked in, where they saw Mä'näbŭsh seated at his drum, singing. When he saw the party he said, 'My uncles, come in and sit down. Tell me what it is that brought you so far to see me, for I am sure it must be something very important.'

"The first one to speak said to Mä'näbŭsh, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I came to you because I want to become a great warrior.' 'Hau;' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'you shall be a great warrior, as you desire, and you shall be engaged in four great battles, in which you and all of your warriors shall escape unhurt.'

"Then Mä'näbŭsh turned to the second one of the party and said, 'My uncle, what do you wish of me, that you have come so far to seek?'

"'Mä'näbŭsh,' replied the one spoken to, 'I can not get any girl to marry me, because there is nothing attractive about me. Beside that, I am a poor hunter and can not get any deer; and I also want to become a great warrior.'

"'My uncle,' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'your desire is granted; you shall have plenty of girls to admire you; you also shall become a great hunter and a brave and successful warrior.'

"Then Mä'näbŭsh looked toward the third of the visitors and said, 'My uncle, what is it that you desire?'

"The man then looked at Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want a pe'qtshikŭ'na (medicine bag), that I may be able to cure the sick and to heal wounds.'

"Mä'näbŭsh replied to this request, saying, 'My uncle, you shall have a pe'qtshikŭ'na, and it shall be as you desire.'

"The fourth of the visitors, whose turn had now come to announce his request, sat with his head hanging down, and when Mä'näbŭsh looked at him he could not help laughing, because he knew what the

man wanted; but he said, nevertheless, 'My uncle, what is it that you want?' The man then raised his head, looked at Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to live always; give me everlasting life.' Mä'näbŭsh walked over to where the man sat, picked him up and carried him a short distance, and while placing him firmly upon the ground said, 'You shall have your wish; here you shall always remain for future generations to look upon.' Then the others, who had come with this man, saw that he had been transformed into a stone, where he could remain for all time, as he had desired.

"Mä'näbŭsh then returned to his seat, and, looking toward the next of his visitors to speak, who, perceiving that he could now make his request, said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I am like my friend; I want to get married, but no one will have me. Give me some love medicine, so that all the girls will like me.'

"Mä'näbŭsh replied, 'My uncle, your request is granted, and you will find plenty of girls who will want to marry you.'

"Then the seventh of the visitors turned toward Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I would like to be a great warrior, and to be the first of each war party to kill an enemy.'

"Mä'näbŭsh smiled, and replying to the man, said, 'You shall have your wish, my uncle; you shall be the first to kill an enemy.'

"The eighth of the visitors then turned his face toward Mä'näbŭsh, and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to be a good hunter, so that I may always be able to kill plenty of game.'

"Mä'näbŭsh said, 'My uncle, you shall be a good and successful hunter as you wish; you shall always find plenty of game for your use.'

"The next of the visitors now to make known his desire, said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to get some powerful medicine to cure the sick, and especially to help those who are child-bearing.'

"Mä'näbŭsh seemed pleased that such a request should be made, and replied, 'My uncle, your wish is granted; you shall have the medicine you desire.'

"The last of the party still remained to ask for favor, so Mä'näbŭsh presently turned to him and said, 'My uncle, what is it that you want me to grant you?' 'Mä'näbŭsh,' said the man addressed, 'I want a pē'qtshikŭ'na (medicine bag) like that used by the Inä'maqkwŏk' ("the birds of the air") and the Kĭnĕu'ᵛwŏk ("the eagles"), that will give me power over my enemies; and I want a missē'wŏs ("wound medicine") with which I may cure arrow wounds.'

"'My uncle,' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'your wish is granted; here is the pē'qtshikŭ'na.'

"Mä'näbŭsh then gave the warrior a medicine bag in which were all kinds of medicine (charms and amulets); an eagle feather, which was the eagle medicine; a raven skin to tie about the right arm above the elbow; a skunk skin to tie about the left arm above the elbow; and many other medicines with which he could arm his warriors to make them powerful in battle.

"Then, when all had received a response to their wishes, they made preparations to depart, but Mä'näbŭsh said, 'My uncles, you have come a long journey to see me, but it will not be so far for you to return to your village.' Then, taking a piece of buckskin, Mä'näbŭsh held it up so that all could see it. It was half an arm's length in size each way, and Mä'näbŭsh said, 'This represents the journey you have made;' then putting the buckskin against the fire it shrunk into a much smaller piece, when Mä'näbŭsh again took it up and said, 'My uncles, this piece of buckskin now represents the journey you have before you; you see it is not so long.'

"The warriors were much pleased with this, and took their departure. They traveled all day, but before going into camp the hunter had supplied the party with plenty of venison for supper. When they encamped, they soon made themselves comfortable, and while sitting in a circle smoking they saw two strange men approach, when one of the warriors grasped his warclub and attacked them, striking one of them a terrific blow on the side of the head. The club rebounded, it having caused the man's head only to sway a little; the warrior struck him a second time, with a similar result, when the man began to laugh, saying, 'What are you doing? you can not hurt me.' The friends of the warrior at once perceived that the two strangers were ânâ'maqkī'ñ (underground ma'nidos), and that he could not injure them, so they called out, 'Let them alone, you can not hurt either of them, for they are ma'nidos.' The warrior then desisted from his attack on the strangers and returned to the camp, whereupon the ma'nidos vanished.

"On the following morning the warriors continued their journey toward home, where they arrived on the fourth day after leaving the wigwam of Mä'näbŭsh.

"The people of the village were glad to see the return of the party and to learn of their success in finding Mä'näbŭsh, and the girls at once began to follow the warrior who had obtained the love medicine, even his own sister wishing to marry him.

"One night, four days after returning from his visit to Mä'näbŭsh, the warrior who had received the pē'ɥtshikū'na, dreamed that a war party of strange Indians was to pass at a certain point. In his dream he saw, at a distance of four days' journey, a hill beyond which was a stream of water, and again beyond which was another piece of rising ground, just over the crest of which he saw the trail where the war party was to appear. On awakening next morning, the warrior went out among his friends, and soon had a party of fifty men collected to join him. They then started in the direction shown to the warrior in his dream, and before the fourth day was spent they had crossed the first ridge and had reached the stream.

"Then the leader of the party halted and told his companions, 'My friends, we have arrived at the place where we must halt and prepare ourselves for battle, because just beyond the crest of that ridge ahead of us is the trail by which the war party will pass.' Then taking out

his pē'qtshikŭ'na, he selected the reed whistle to be used in commanding the warriors, telling the latter to select their medicine for the fight. One who had been with the leader to visit Mä'näbŭsh, and who desired always to be the first to strike an enemy, selected the eagle feather; another took the raven skin and tied it about his right arm just above the elbow; another took the skunk skin and secured it about his left arm just above the elbow. So each, in turn, selected his favorite medicine until all were provided. Then the leader told the two warriors who had the raven skin and the skunk skin medicines to go along the crest of the hill to watch for the war party; the remainder advanced, passed the crest and then awaited the return of the scouts. While the warriors were preparing to advance toward the trail, which was visible to the leader only, the scouts returned with the report that away to the right could be seen the approaching war party.

"Not long after the enemy was sighted the file of the strange Indians was observed coming on from the right, and so soon as they were opposite the waiting party the leader of the latter blew his reed whistle and the line advanced on a run. The warrior who had received from Mä'näbŭsh the medicine that made him a great fighter, and who desired always to be the first to strike the enemy, ran ahead of the column, as he was very fleet, struck down one of the enemy, secured his scalp and hastily returned and placed it in the hands of the leader, who remained on the crest of the hill to govern and direct the fight. The next to return to his leader with a scalp was the man who wore upon his right arm the raven-skin medicine. The conflict was short and decisive, only one or two of the enemy escaping during the fight. The warriors then returned to their village.

"The people lived for some time in peace and contentment, when they all decided to go on a hunt; so everybody prepared to move to the hunting ground which had been selected by the chief. Game was plentiful, and during the evening the hunters and warriors would sit around the camp fires smoking and talking about the success of the day.

"One evening a party of young men said to one another, 'Let us go over to the wigwam of the old man and have him tell us some stories.' So they all went over to where the old man lived. He was a very old man, and being regarded as well versed in the tales of bygone times, the young men were glad to sit around him and listen to his words.

"When the young men arrived at the wigwam the old man welcomed them, and bade them be seated. One of the young men was the warrior who always was the first to strike an enemy, and who had received the fighting medicine from Mä'näbŭsh. He went up to the right side of the old man and laid himself on the ground so that he could look up into his face. After the party had been seated and had passed the pipe, the spokesman said to the old man, 'Grandfather, tell us some stories of the olden times.' The old man sat quietly looking into space before him, his eyes partially closed, when he began to

relate things of his younger days and of the times of those who had gone before him.

"The young warrior lying on the ground turned toward the old man and said, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.' The old man paid no attention to this interruption, but continued his narrative. Presently the young warrior again spoke to the old man, in a more peremptory manner than before, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.' Again the old man appeared to take no notice of the interruption, but continued his narrative. Presently, the young warrior grasped the arm of the old man and, shaking it rather forcibly, said in a louder and more commanding tone than before, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.'

"Then the old man turned toward the young warrior and rebuked him, saying, 'My son, what are you, that you should ask me to lend you my knife? Is it not the duty of every warrior always to have his knife? What would you do if we were now surrounded by the enemy?' The young warrior held his clinched fist toward the old man and said, 'I have this, and with it could slay any man.' At that instant considerable commotion was heard outside, and one of the hunters came hastily into the wigwam saying that the village was surrounded by the enemy. Instantly every one rushed out to secure his weapons and to go into the fight, all excepting the old man, who retained his seat, and the young warrior who had been asking for a knife.

"The young warrior arose and looked about to see what weapons were at hand, but at that moment he perceived one of the enemy pushing aside the door, which consisted of a curtain made of skins, and entering the wigwam. Quick as a flash the young warrior threw his left hand against the intruder's forehead, thus forcing back his head, and with his fist struck him on the throat, breaking the cartilage (pomum Adami), when he fell down senseless. The victor then threw the body toward the old man, saying, 'Here, old man, you dispose of this one.' The old man then took his knife from its sheath and thrust it into the enemy's heart. By this time another of the enemy had entered the wigwam, whom the young warrior treated in a similar manner, and throwing the body toward the old man, told him to dispose also of him, whereupon the old man likewise stabbed this warrior as he had the first. Presently another of the enemy put his head in at the door, whom the young warrior also grasped with his left hand, planting a terrific blow upon the throat with the left hand, laying low the victim. Then, grasping the body and throwing it over to the old man, he said, 'Here, old man, dispose of this one also,' when the old man thrust his knife into the enemy's heart. A fourth one of the attacking party now entered the door of the wigwam, and he also was grasped by the young warrior who struck him upon the throat, knocking him senseless. This body was likewise thrown over to the old man, who thrust his knife into the victim's heart.

"Those without, not hearing the voices of their companions, hesitated to enter, and preferred to take possession of the wigwam by stratagem. The young warrior, finding no others courageous enough to come in, decided to go out and assume the aggressive. Taking a pole which he found in the wigwam, he approached the door, but, instead of putting out his head to have it crushed by those lying in wait outside, he took the pole and pushed out the curtain which covered the entrance, so as to make it appear like a human form about to go out, when in an instant all of the watchers discharged their arrows into it; then, rushing out before they could recover from their surprise, he began striking right and left, so that in the darkness no one could tell which was the aggressor. In the meantime the others of the encampment had driven back the attacking war party, so that now it required but a few moments for the young warrior to put to flight the small party who had surrounded the old man's wigwam. When it was learned that the enemy had withdrawn, everything resumed its usual tranquility.

"A few days later the same party of young warriors who had previously called at the wigwam of the old man to listen to the stories of bygone times, again decided to go there for an evening's entertainment. All of the visitors were asked to be seated, but the young warrior again lay down near the old man. Then the late attack became the subject of conversation, and one of the visitors, who sat away back in the wigwam, spoke, saying, 'Old man, how is it? We hear that the boaster at your feet killed four of the enemy with his fist; we want to hear about that exploit.' 'My son,' responded the old man, 'it is just as you say. He was with me when my wigwam was attacked, and struck down four men with his fist and threw them to me, for I killed them myself by stabbing them.'

"The young man who had asked this question felt abashed and kept silent. They all felt that the young warrior had greatly distinguished himself, and as he had received from Mä'näbŭsh the 'fighting medicine' (for he was one of the ten who had visited Mä'näbŭsh), they feared him. Soon they all returned to their wigwams, and a few days later the camp broke up and the hunters went home to their settlement.

"The young warrior was still living with his aged parents, and provided well for them; and it was for this reason chiefly that he had not yet taken a wife.

"One of the neighbors of this old couple had three daughters, so when the young warrior one day returned to his wigwam he found seated there a beautiful girl, who had been given to the old couple by their neighbor that she might look to their personal wants. The young warrior was pleased with the girl and at her apparent modesty—as she had not yet spoken a word—so he adopted the advice of his parents, by taking her to be his wife.

"In due course of time a child was born to them, but he soon found that his wife received the attentions of other warriors when he was

away from home hunting. Now, the fame of the young warrior became so well known that all who knew him feared him; but one man, the lover of the young wife, openly said that he was not afraid of the husband, and dared him. So the lover and the young wife, awaiting an opportunity to run away during the young warrior's absence, left the wigwam and went to a high cliff, in the face of which was a small opening. There they secreted themselves.

"When the young warrior returned to his wigwam he found that his child had cried so much at the loss of its mother that it was supposed to be dying. The father of the faithless wife then commanded his second daughter to go and care for the child, while the young warrior started away to overtake the runaway couple. He began to make a circuit about the camp, widening the circle at each turn so that no place would escape his attention, and that he might find their trail. When he had traveled long and far, he found himself in a valley opposite a high cliff, and looking up he saw his wife's red leggings projecting from a small cavern. He recognized these, because his wife wore red garments entirely, even down to her leggings. He saw, also, the projecting legs and feet of his false friend. Then going in the nearest possible direction to the summit of the cliff, where he could look down, he could scarcely understand how the couple had succeeded in gaining access to so inaccessible a spot, but called out, 'Wife, come up here to the top of the rock; I want you.' The wife, seeing that they were discovered, replied, 'Husband, is that you? I am coming up;' and with that she climbed up the narrow ledge to where her husband stood. He took her by the arm and led her a short distance away from the edge of the cliff, where he told her to remain and wait for him. Then the young warrior cut a forked stick, and sharpening the two prongs with his ax, went to the cliff and called to the lover to come up. As soon as the man responded by coming out of the cavern, the young warrior thrust down the forked stick so that one point passed on each side of his neck, and, giving him a hard thrust, threw the man down over the cliff, where his body was dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

"Then, returning to where his wife stood, the young warrior brought her to the edge of the cliff, and while she shrieked with fear he grasped her by both arms and, raising her above his head, he cast her out over the cliff, where her body went flying down among the rocks beneath. The woman fell on her head with such violence that she was forced into a rounded mass.

"Having accomplished his revenge, he returned to his wigwam and told the parents of the two dead ones to get the bodies and bury them. He said that he was determined to punish such faithlessness, and everybody, even the parents of the woman and her lover, said that the young warrior had done what was right.

"The second daughter of the neighbor, who had been sent to the young warrior's wigwam to care for the deserted child, took such good

MITÄ'WIKŌ'MIK OF 1892

care of the little one that it recovered. Then, to make amends for the past, the neighbor gave to the young warrior the second daughter as a wife to take the place of her faithless sister."

Ceremonies of 1892

The annual meeting of the Mitä′wit in 1892 was held in June, and was called for the purpose of initiating a little girl named Dä′tĕwiata′mo ("Rumbling Noise"), 8 years of age. She had been selected by her father, Wa′naqkŏ′shĕ (The Little Apex), usually designated "John Smith." The meeting was held in a smaller structure than usual, 2 miles west of the village. The attendance numbered about 60 male and female shamans. At the northwestern corner of the mitä′wikŏ′mik a canvas tent was built against it so as to afford ready entrance to the interior, where the ceremonies were held. Plate XII represents a view of this structure, which differed in some respects from those already described. During an interval in the ceremonies, some myths were obtained from the officiating priests, including Shu′nien, Nio′pet, Shâwâq′ka, and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

The following version of the encounter between Mä′näbŭsh and the Water Monster, Mä′shenō′mak (also given as Mä′shekinē′bik), was related by Nio′pet. It is more complete than that given by Shu′nien, although that recited by the latter is claimed to be exactly as he had been taught it when he was prepared for the degree of the Mitä′wit.

Mä′shenō′mak, the Great Fish

"The people were much distressed about a water monster, or giant fish, which frequently caught fishermen, dragging them into the lake and there devouring them. So Mä′näbŭsh asked his grandmother to hand to him his singing sticks, and told her he was going to allow himself to be swallowed that he might be enabled to destroy the monster. Mä′näbŭsh then built a small raft and floated out on the lake, singing all the while, 'Mä′shenō′mak, come and eat me; you will feel good.' Then the monster, Mä′shenō′mak, saw that it was Mä′näbŭsh, and told his children to swallow him. When one of the young Mä′shenō′mak darted forward to swallow Mä′näbŭsh, the latter said, 'I want Mä′shenō′mak to swallow me.' This made the monster so angry that he swallowed Mä′näbŭsh, who thereupon became unconscious. When he recovered, he found himself in company with his brothers; he saw the Bear, the Deer, the Porcupine, the Raven, the Pine-squirrel, and many others. He inquired of them how they came to meet with such misfortune, and was very sad to find that other kinsmen also were lying dead.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh prepared to sing the war song, during which it is customary to state the object of making the attack and the manner in which it is to be attempted. He told his brothers to dance with him,

and all joined in singing. The Pine-squirrel alone had a curious voice and hopped around rapidly, singing, 'Sĕk-sĕk sĕk-sĕk,' which amused the rest, even in their distress. As the dancers passed around the interior of the monster it made him reel, and when Mä'näbŭsh danced past his heart he thrust his knife toward it, which caused the monster to have a convulsion. Then Mä'näbŭsh thrust his knife three times toward the monster's heart, after which he said, 'Mä'shenō'mak, swim toward my wigwam,' and immediately afterward he thrust his knife into the heart, which caused the monster's body to quake and roll so violently that everyone became unconscious. How long they remained in this condition they knew not, but on returning to consciousness Mä'näbŭsh found everything motionless and silent. He knew then that the monster was dead, and that his body was lying either on the shore or on the bottom of the lake; to make sure, he crawled over the bodies of his brothers to a point where he could cut an opening through the monster's body. When he had cut a small opening, he saw bright daylight, and immediately closed the hole, took his singing sticks, and began to sing:

'Ke-sik-in-nâ-min, ke-sik-in-nâ-min.'
'I see the sky! I see the sky!'

"As Mä'näbŭsh continued to sing his brothers recovered. The Squirrel alone was the one who hopped around singing the words 'Sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk.' When the dance was concluded, Mä'näbŭsh cut a large opening in the monster's belly through which they emerged. As the survivors were about to separate to go to their respective wigwams, they all complimented the Pine-squirrel on his fine voice, and Mä'näbŭsh said to him, 'My younger brother, you also will be happy, as you have a good voice.' Thus Mä'näbŭsh destroyed Mä'shenō'mak."

The following myth is sometimes chanted by the mitä'wok as part of the ritual, especially that portion which relates to the origin and source of the things needed by mankind. At no meeting of the Mitä'wit had it been rendered; so on my special desire Nio'pet chanted it for my instruction. This was done, however, during a short recess and when but a few confidential mitä'wok were present. The myth is called "The Origin of Fire and the Canoe," of which the following words are a translation:

"Mä'näbŭsh, when he was still a youth, once said to his grandmother Nokō'mis, 'Grandmother, it is cold here and we have no fire; let me go to get some.' Nokō'mis endeavored to dissuade him from such a perilous undertaking, but he insisted; so he made a canoe of bark, and, once more assuming the form of a rabbit, started eastward across a large body of water, where dwelt an old man who had fire. As the Rabbit approached the island it was still night; so he went on shore and traveled along until he came in sight of the sacred wigwam of the old man. This old man had two daughters, who, when they emerged from the sacred wigwam, saw a little Rabbit, wet and cold, and care-

fully taking it up they carried it into the sacred wigwam, where they set it down near the fire to warm.

"The Rabbit was permitted to remain near the fire while the girls went about the sacred wigwam to attend to their duties. The Rabbit then hopped a little nearer the fire to endeavor to grasp a coal, but as he moved the earth shook and disturbed the old man, who was slumbering. The old man said, 'My daughters, what causes this disturbance?' The daughters said it was nothing; that they were only trying to dry and warm a poor little rabbit which they had found. When the two girls were again occupied, the Rabbit grasped a stick of burning wood and ran with all speed toward the place where he had left his canoe, closely pursued by the girls and the old man. The Rabbit reached his canoe in safety and pushed off, hastening with all speed toward his grandmother's home. The velocity of the canoe caused such a current of air that the firebrand began to burn fiercely, so by the time he reached shore Nokō'mis, who had been awaiting the Rabbit's return, saw that sparks of fire had burned his skin in various places. She immediately took the fire from him and then dressed his wounds, after which they soon healed. The Thunderers received the fire from Nokō'mis, and have had the care of it ever since."

Notes on the Ceremonies

The preceding meeting of the Mitä'wit added little to the ritual obtained during the preceding years; but some information was gained relating to the method sometimes followed in preparing for a future meeting.

When a mitä'ᵛ feels that he has been unmindful of the injunctions and precepts taught through the ritual of the Mitä'wit by Mä'näbūsh, he must show regret and pledge future sincerity by giving a ball game. A game is also sometimes given as an offering to Ki'shä' Ma'nido when a member of the family is sick; this offering being equivalent to giving to the poor. A feast is later on provided for the meeting of the Mitä'wit, and this every giver of a ball game is obliged to furnish. The following is a translation of remarks on this subject by Waio'skasĭt:

"When anyone prepares to have a game of ball, he selects the captains or leaders of the two sides who are to compete. Each leader then appoints his own player, and the ball sticks to be used are deposited at the ball ground on the day before the game is to occur. Then each of the leaders selects a powerful and influential mitä'ᵛ, whose services are solicited for taking charge of the safety of the ball sticks, and to prevent their being charmed or conjured by the opposing mitä'ᵛ. The mitä'ᵛ is not expected to be present at the ground during the night, because he is supposed to have the power to influence the sticks at any distance.

"Should one mitä'ᵛ succeed in obtaining such necromantic power over the sticks as to carry them away from the ground—that is, to carry

away the power of the sticks—then it is the duty of the opposing mitä'ᵛ to follow him and bring them back. In case the pursuing mitä'ᵛ does not succeed in catching the rival, on account of being outwitted or because of having insufficient power in overcoming him, then the pursuing mitä'ᵛ is killed by his rival's sorcery. It usually happens that the pursuer compels the rival to restore the virtue or power of the sticks before the day approaches."

FIG. 19—Ball stick.

Four innings are played, and usually the presents, consisting of pieces of cloth, are divided into four parts, one part being given to the victor of each inning. Sometimes, however, the presents are renewed until the end of the game.

The frames from which the presents are suspended are near the middle of the ground, but off toward the eastern side, the tobacco-tray and other accessories being placed on the ground between them and toward the center of the ball ground. The two horizontal parallel poles forming the upper part of the framework are used for the calico and blankets; before them, on the ground, a cloth is spread, and on this are placed tobacco, pipes, and matches, to which all the participants are at liberty to help themselves.

The accompanying plate XIII represents the players during a run for the ball. The latter is made of thongs of buckskin tightly wrapped and covered with buckskin or leather, and measures about 2½ inches in diameter. The sticks are made of hickory or ash, about 3 feet long, the wood being shaved thinner and bent into a hoop or ring at least 4 inches in diameter. Four or five thongs pass through holes in the hoop and cross in the center, forming a netted pocket in which the ball may rest half hidden (figure 19).

When the ball is caught, the runner carries the stick almost horizontally before him, moving it rapidly from side to side and at the same time turning the stick so as to keep the ball always in front and retained by the pocket. This constant swinging and twisting movement tends to prevent players of the opposing side from knocking the ball out or dislodging it by hitting the stick.

The manner of preparing for and playing the game is like that of the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota, which I have already described, and of which an abstract may be presented:

After selecting a level piece of ground, if a regular ball ground does not already exist, the goals are erected about one-third of a mile apart. These consist of two upright poles or saplings about 20 feet high. The best players of either side gather at the center of the ground. The poorer players arrange themselves around

BALL PLAYERS

their respective goals, while the heaviest in weight scatter across the field between the starting point and the goals.

The ball is tossed into the air in the center of the field. As soon as it descends it is caught with the ball stick by one of the players, when he immediately sets out at full speed toward the opposite goal. If too closely pursued, or if intercepted by an opponent, he throws the ball in the direction of one of his own side, who takes up the race.

The usual method of depriving a player of the ball is to strike the handle of the ball stick so as to dislodge the ball; but this is frequently a difficult matter on account of a peculiar horizontal motion of the ball stick maintained by the runner. Frequently the ball carrier is disabled by being struck across the arm or leg, thus compelling his retirement. Severe injuries occur only when playing for high stakes or when ill-feeling exists between some of the players.

Should the ball carrier of one side reach the opposite goal, it is necessary for him to throw the ball so that it touches the post. This is always a difficult matter, because, even if the ball be well directed, one of the numerous players surrounding the post as guards may intercept it and throw it back into the field. In this manner a single inning may be continued for an hour or more. The game may come to a close at the end of any inning by mutual agreement of the players, that side winning the greater number of scores being declared the victor.

During the intervals of rest the players approach the place of the presents and smoke. The giver of the game also awards to the successful players a part of the presents, the whole quantity being divided into four portions, so that equal portions are distributed at each of the intervals.

The players frequently hang to the belt the tail of a deer, an antelope, or some other fleet animal, or the wings of swift-flying birds, with the idea that through these they are endowed with the swiftness of the animal. There are, however, no special preparations preceding a game, as feasting or fasting, dancing, etc.—additional evidence that the game is not so highly regarded among the Ojibwa tribe. To continue the quotation—

The game played by the Dakota Indians of the upper Missouri was probably learned from the Ojibwa, as these two tribes have been upon amicable terms for many years; the ball sticks are identical in construction, and the game is played in the same manner. Sometimes, however, the goals at either end of the ground consist of two heaps of blankets about 20 feet apart, between which the ball is passed.

When the Dakota play a game the village is equally divided into sides. A player offers as a wager some article of clothing, a robe, or a blanket, when an opponent lays down an object of equal value. This parcel is laid aside, and the next two deposit their stakes, and so on until all have concluded. The game then begins, two of the three innings deciding the issue.

When the women play against the men, five of the women are matched against one of the latter. A mixed game of this kind is very amusing. The fact that among the Dakota women are allowed to participate in the game is considered excellent evidence that the game is a borrowed one. Among most other tribes women are not even allowed to touch a ball stick.

The Chactas, Chickasaws, and allied tribes of Indian territory frequently perform acts of conjuring in the ball field to invoke the assistance of their tutelary daimons. The games of these Indians are much more brutal than those of the northern tribes.

The game sticks are longer, and made of hickory, and blows are frequently directed so as to disable a runner.[1]

The game of lacrosse originated without doubt among some one of the eastern Algonquian tribes, possibly in the valley of Saint Lawrence river, and from there was carried down among the Huron-Iroquois, and later on into the country of the more southern members of the Iroquoian linguistic stock, as the Cherokee, etc. Westward the game was taken by the various tribes of the Algonquian stock, and afterward adopted by other tribes, until at this day there is evidence of its influence among many tribes of diverse stocks. The French name of the game has been preserved in the geography of Wisconsin, both in the Prairie de la Crosse and in the city of that name; and in the history of that state by the ball-play conspiracy, made use of by Pontiac for the purpose of gaining admission to the fort at Michilimackinac to massacre the garrison.

When Mackinaw passed into the possession of the British in 1763, the Menomini, who had gone to aid the French, returned to their homes at Green bay, with the exception, possibly, of a few who, for the purpose of trading, may have accompanied the French settlers in their journey to Mackinaw to take the oath of allegiance. Some of the Ottawa and Ojibwa had espoused the cause of Pontiac, who was endeavoring to surprise the garrison and thus embroil the Indian tribes in difficulties with the English. De Langlade, who had located near the garrison, and who had been informed by his Indian allies of the plan, several times warned Captain Etherington, the commandant, of the plot, in which a game of ball was to figure, the throwing of the ball over the picketing being the signal to strike. Etherington doubted the truthfulness of the report, believing it to be nothing but idle rumor, and persisted in his belief that no precautions were necessary.

Francis Parkman[2] gives the following graphic account of this celebrated game and its results:

Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie stood near the gate, the former indulging his inveterate English propensity; for, as Henry informs us, he had promised the Ojibwas that he would bet on their side against the Sacs. Indian chiefs and warriors were also among the spectators, intent apparently on watching the game, but with thoughts, in fact, far otherwise employed.

The plain in front was covered by ball players. The game in which they were engaged, called *baggattaway* by the Ojibwas, is still, as it always has been, a favorite with many Indian tribes. At either extremity of the ground a tall post was planted, marking the stations of the rival parties. The object of each was to defend its own post and drive the ball to that of its adversary. Hundreds of lithe and agile figures were leaping and bounding upon the plain. Each was nearly naked, his loose, black hair flying in the wind, and each bore in his hand a bat of a form peculiar to this game. At one moment the whole were crowded together, a dense throng of combatants, all struggling for the ball; at the next they were scattered again and running over the ground like hounds in full cry. Each in his excitement yelled and

[1] American Anthropologist, Washington, D. C., April, 1890, vol. iii, pp. 134–135.

[2] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Boston, 1868, vol. i, pp. 297–298.

shouted at the height of his voice. Rushing and striking, tripping their adversaries or hurling them to the ground, they pursued the animating contest amid the laughter and applause of the spectators. Suddenly, from the midst of the multitude, the ball soared into the air and, descending in a wide curve, fell near the pickets of the fort. This was no chance stroke. It was part of a preconcerted stratagem to insure the surprise and destruction of the garrison. As if in pursuit of the ball, the players turned and came rushing, a maddened and tumultuous throng, toward the gate. In a moment they had reached it. The amazed English had no time to think or act. The shrill cries of the ball players were changed to the ferocious war-whoop. The warriors snatched from the squaws the hatchets, which the latter, with this design, had concealed beneath their blankets. Some of the Indians assailed the spectators without, while others rushed into the fort, and all was carnage and confusion. At the outset several strong hands had fastened their grip upon Etherington and Leslie and led them away from the scene of massacre towards the woods. Within the area of the fort the men were slaughtered without mercy.

Henry[1] escaped and ran to the house of Langlade, secreting himself in the garret. Quoting Henry, Parkman continues:

This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed before, every one being destroyed who could be found, there was a general cry of "All is finished."

According to Shu'nien and other prominent mitä'wok, the traditional origin of the ball game is as follows:

Mä'näbŭsh wanted to discover and destroy those of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ or underground evil ma'nidos, who were instrumental in the death of his brother, the Wolf. He therefore instituted the ball game, and asked the Thunderers to come and play against the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ as their opponents, after which the game should be the property of the Thunderers. The Kine'ŭ', Golden-eagle, came in response to this invitation, and brought with him the ball. He was accompanied by all the other Thunderers, his brothers and younger brothers. Then the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ began to come out of the ground, the first two to appear being the head chiefs in the guise of bears—one a powerful silvery white bear, the other having a gray coat. These were followed by their brothers and younger brothers.

The place selected by Mä'näbŭsh for a ball ground was near a large sand bar on a great lake not far from where Mackinaw is now located. Adjoining the sand bar was a large grove of trees, in the midst of which was a glade, smooth and covered with grass. At one end of this clearing was a knoll, which was taken possession of by the bear chiefs, from which point they could watch the progress of the game. Then the

[1] Parkman, op. cit., pp. 300–301.

ânâ′maqkī′u placed themselves on one side of the ball ground, while the Thunderers took the other, each of the latter selecting a player from among their opponents, as the players always go by pairs.

After the game was started, Mä′näbŭsh approached the grove of trees, and, while cautiously following a stream which led near to the knoll, he discovered an Indian painting himself. While watching the process, Mä′näbŭsh saw the Indian take clay, spread it on his hands, and then scratching off some with the finger nails, so that the remainder appeared like parallel stripes, the hands were then slapped upon the shoulders, the arms, and the sides of the body. Then Mä′näbŭsh said to the Indian, "Who are you and what are you doing?" The Indian replied in the Ottawa tongue, "I am Ketä′kibihŏt′, and I am dressing myself to play ball. Do you not see they are going to have a great time out there on the ball ground? Come and join the game." "No," said Mä′näbŭsh, "I will not play; I will look on." (Ketä′kibihŏt′ in the Menomini language is Ketä′kibihit′, and signifies "the striped one." His modern name is Nakŭ′ti, the Sunfish.)

Mä′näbŭsh watched Nakŭ′ti as he went on the ball field, and saw that he paired himself with Una′wanĭnk, the Pine-squirrel of the Thunderers. Män′äbŭsh′ then continued toward the knoll to see who were his chief enemies. When he had gone as near as possible without being seen, he climbed a large tree, from which he had a good view of the progress of the game, and on looking at the knoll he saw the two Bear chiefs lying there quietly, also watching the ball game. The game lasted all day without either side gaining any advantage, and when the sun was setting the players returned to their wigwams.

When night came Mä′näbŭsh descended the tree in which he had been sitting, approached the knoll, and stood on a spot between the places which had been occupied by the Bear chiefs. He then said, "I want to be a pine tree, cut off half way between the ground and the top, with two strong branches reaching over the places on which the Bear chiefs lie down." Being a ma′nido, he immediately became a tree. When the players returned next morning to resume the ball game, the Bear chiefs and the other ânâ′maqkī′ŭ said, "This tree was not standing here yesterday;" but the Thunderers all replied that it had been there. Then a discussion followed, during which the two sets of players retired to their respective sides, and the game was postponed for awhile. The Bear chiefs concluded that the tree must be Mä′näbŭsh, and they at once decided to destroy him. So they sent for the Grizzly Bear to come to their assistance, and asked him to climb the tree, tear the bark from the trunk, and scratch its throat and face. When the Grizzly Bear had torn the bark from the trunk and bitten the branches, and had scratched the top of the trunk at a point where the head and neck of a human being should be, he gave it up and descended. The Bear chiefs then called up a monster Serpent, which was lying in the brush close by, and asked it to bite and strangle the tree. The Serpent

wrapped itself around the trunk and tightened its coils until Mä′näbŭsh was almost strangled, although he was able to endure the bites which the Serpent inflicted on his head, neck, and arms. Before Mä′näbŭsh became entirely unconscious the Serpent uncoiled and glided down. The Bear chiefs then believed that the tree was not Mä′näbŭsh, so they lay down near the trunk and caused the game to begin. After a long and furious struggle the ball was carried so far from the starting point that the Bear chiefs were left entirely alone, when in an instant Mä′näbŭsh drew an arrow from the quiver hanging at his side, shot one into the body of the silvery-white Bear chief, and another into the body of the gray Bear chief. Then Mä′näbŭsh resumed his human form and ran for the sand bar. He had not proceeded far, however, when the defeated ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ returned, saw what had happened, and set out in pursuit of Mä′näbŭsh. The waters poured out of the ground and followed with such speed that Mä′näbŭsh was about being overtaken, when he saw Ma′nakwō, the Badger, whom he begged to help secrete him in the earth. The Badger took Mä′näbŭsh down into the earth, and as he burrowed threw the loose dirt behind him, which retarded the waters.

The ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ could nowhere find Mä′näbŭsh, so they gave up the pursuit, and just as the waters were sinking into the depths of the burrow, Mä′näbŭsh and the Badger returned to the surface.

When the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ returned to the ball ground, they took up their wounded chiefs and carried them home, erecting at a short distance from camp a sick lodge, in which the wounded were attended by a mitä′ᵛ or shaman. Fearing that Mä′näbŭsh might return to complete his work of destroying the two Bear chiefs, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ began the erection of a network of strands of basswood, which was to inclose the entire sick lodge. When Mä′näbŭsh came near the camp of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, he met an old woman carrying a bundle of basswood bark upon her back and asked her, "Grandmother, what have you on your back?" The old woman replied, "You are Mä′näbŭsh, and wish to kill me." "No," he replied, "I am not Mä′näbŭsh, for if I were Mä′näbŭsh I should have killed you at once, without asking you a question." So, the old woman's fears being quieted, she began to relate to Mä′näbŭsh all of the troubles which had befallen the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, adding, "We have built a network of strands of basswood bark around the wigwam in which the Bear chiefs are lying sick, so that if Mä′näbŭsh should come to kill them he would have to cut his way through it, which would cause it to shake, when the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ would discover and kill him. We have only a little more of the network to make, when it will be complete." The old woman also told Mä′näbŭsh that she herself was the meta who attended to the two chiefs, and that no other person was permitted to enter the wigwam.

When Mä′näbŭsh heard all this, he struck the old woman and killed her, after which he removed her skin and got into it himself, took the bundle of basswood bark on his back, and in this disguise passed undetected into the sick lodge. Here he found the two Bear chiefs with the

arrowshafts still protruding from their bodies. Mä näbŭsh then took hold of the shaft of the arrow protruding from the body of the silvery-white Bear chief and, thrusting it deeper into the wound, killed him. Then he killed the gray Bear chief in the same way, after which he skinned both bodies, dressed the skins, and rolled them into a bundle. When Mä näbŭsh was ready to depart, he went out of the wigwam through the opening left by the old woman, and when he reached the extreme outside end of the network he shook it violently to let the ânâ maqkī ŭ know that he had been there and had accomplished the destruction of his chief enemies. The ânâ maqkī ŭ at once pursued Mä näbŭsh, as did also the waters, which flowed out of the earth at many places. Mä näbŭsh, fearing to be overtaken, at once ascended the highest mountain in view, the waters closely pursuing him. On the summit he found a gigantic pine tree, to the very top of which he climbed. But the waters soon reached him, so he called out to the tree to grow twice its height, which it did; but soon the waters were again at his feet, when he again caused the tree to grow twice its original height. Yet in time the waters rose to where Mä näbŭsh was perched, and he again caused the tree to grow twice its original height, to which the waters gradually made their way. A fourth time Mä'näbŭsh caused the tree to grow, and for the fourth time the water rose until it reached his armpits. Then Mä näbŭsh called to Kishä' Ma nido for help, saying that as he had been sent to the earth he begged for help against the anger of the ânâmaqkī ŭ. The Good Mystery caused the waters to subside, and then Mä näbŭsh looked around and saw only small animals struggling in the water, seeking a foothold which was nowhere visible.

Presently Mä näbŭsh observed the Otter, so he called to him saying, "Otter, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Otter dived down into the water, where he remained for a long time; but when he returned to the surface Mä näbŭsh saw him floating with his belly uppermost and knew that the Otter was dead. Then Mä näbŭsh looked around and saw the Beaver swimming upon the surface of the water, so he said, "Beaver, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Beaver dived down into the water and tried to reach the bottom. After a long interval Mä'näbŭsh saw him floating upon the surface belly uppermost, and then knew that he too had failed to reach the bottom. Again Mä näbŭsh looked about to see who could accomplish the feat, when he observed the Mink, so he said, "Mink, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." Then the Mink disappeared beneath the water, where he remained for a long time, and when he reappeared he was floating with his belly uppermost, and Mä'näbŭsh knew that the Mink also had perished.

Mä näbŭsh looked about once more and saw only the Muskrat, when he called out and said, "Muskrat, come to me and be my brother; dive

down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Muskrat immediately complied with the wish of Mä′näbŭsh, and dived down into the water. He remained so long beneath the surface that Mä′näbŭsh thought he could not return alive; and when he did come to the surface it was with the belly uppermost. Then Mä′näbŭsh took the Muskrat in his hands and found adhering to the forepaws a minute quantity of earth. Then Mä′näbŭsh held the Muskrat up, blew on him, and restored him to life; he then rubbed between his palms the particle of earth and scattered it broadcast, when the new earth was formed and trees appeared. Then Mä′näbŭsh thanked the Muskrat and told him his people should always be numerous and have enough to eat wherever he should choose to live.

Then Mä′näbŭsh found the Badger, to whom he gave the skin of the gray Bear chief, which he wears to this day; but he retained the skin of the silvery-white Bear chief for his own use.

Then it became necessary for Män′äbŭsh to institute the ball game, so that his uncles could play it. He therefore called them all together, and when he had announced to them his intention, he named Kinē′u^{v}, the Golden-eagle, the chief of the Oqpe′tawŏk or Flyers, as leader of one side, and Owa′sse, the Bear, as leader of the ânâ′maqkī′ñ hawa′itokŏk, the underground beings. Kinē′u^{v} is in the west, and when he advances with the ball the sky darkens and the wind blows. Then Owa′sse tries to prevent Kinē′u^{v} from approaching to win the game, and the wind and rain may for awhile be held back, but Kinē′u^{v} always wins in the end. That is why the Thunderers always win the game even at this day, whether it be played for pleasure or to help a sick man.

The Mitä′wok furthermore related various matters concerning the ball game, of which the following is a translation:

When a young man fasts and dreams of his ma′nido, he always wears that ma′nido in the shape of a small effigy or as an amulet. His ma′nido helps him to succeed in his undertakings. But if he forgets his ma′nido and does not make offerings to him, then he will lose his power, and his ma′nido will not assist him. Then the man must give a ball game and offer presents to his ma nido, and thus again receive his favor. The man thus giving the feast selects the leaders of the two sides, which consists respectively of players of the wi′dishi′anun (or phratry) of which the leaders are members. The leaders are persons conspicuous for their endurance and skill, and for the possession of special powers conferred by their ma′nidos.

When one becomes sick through neglecting his ma′nido, and is unable to prepare a ball game, some relation or friend of his wi′dishi′anun assumes the responsibility of getting up the game, by which the anger of the sick man's ma′nido will be appeased and the sufferer again be taken under his protection.

Should a man dream of the Wâ′banunä′qsiwŏk, the Eastern people, he will have to prepare a ball game to avert evil or danger. The Wâ′banunä′qsiwŏk are dressed in red, both the men and the women;

therefore the players constituting the side named to assist the organizer wear something red about the person—a piece of red ribbon, a red feather, or something else of that color. The ball must be colored red on the "eastern" half and yellow on the "western" half in order to conform with these symbolic requirements.

If a woman dreams that she sees the Wâ'banmnä'qsiwŏk, she also is obliged to prepare a game as an offering to appease the evil ma'nidos that are favorable to those people. The woman must dress in red, and perhaps all those on her side will do the same: perhaps they will wear only some red ribbons or pieces of cloth to denote their side. But in any game, those who are members of the wi'dishi'anun of which the Kinē'nᵉ is leader, the ânâ'maqkī'ñ will always win, because the ma'nidos first won when Mä'näbūsh instituted the game.

When the ball game is played for amusement, or as a simple test of physical endurance and skill, some of the players are sometimes enabled to procure from the mitä'ᵉ a medicine called psha'kiwis, which is made by boiling certain plants and roots. The decoction is then rubbed all over the legs up to the knees, and sometimes even to the thighs. The players also rub charcoal or charred wood on their legs to strengthen them. A player who does this is considered certain to win in such games, because when an opponent approaches, the medicine will take away his strength and he may fall down. If a player, not prepared by having used suitable medicine, gets the ball and runs toward the goal, then an adversary whose legs have been rubbed with medicine has only to run after him and step on one of his footprints when the ball carrier will become weak and may be overtaken.

The leader of a party of players generally goes to the ball ground just before the game begins and prays to his ma'nido for aid. Then he often finds success and assistance; for example, when throwing the ball straight up in the air, he says to his ma'nido, as it is flying upward, "Take the ball toward my side:" and as the ball turns to descend it goes in the direction desired.

Ceremonies of 1893

The last annual meeting of the Mitä'wit was held in August, 1893. It was called at that time in compliance with my request, the shamans having previously informed me that I had authority to ask for a meeting by virtue of my previous admission. The candidate was a little girl, 4 years of age. She was admitted to membership for two reasons, as will hereafter be set forth.

The promoter of the ceremonies was Ä'kwinē'mi Mo'sihât, and the mitä'wikŏ'mik was erected 3 miles southwest of Keshena, amidst the pines and oaks of an open grove, near an Indian farm. The structure was smaller than usual, measuring only about 65 feet in length, with the usual width of 20 feet and an interior height of 7 or 7½ feet.

The chief mitä'wok of the first or leading quartette, consisted of Shu'nien, Nio'pet, Mo'sihât, and Ni'aqtawâ'pomi, although the last

mentioned did not arrive in time for the beginning, his place being filled ad interim by another man.

The ceremonies were in nowise different from those of the preceding years, with the exception that some of the chants heard during the afternoon of the last day consisted of but a few words, although the music was repeated again and again, until the monotony of the utterances and drumming became absolutely painful. This was caused by the desire to prolong the ceremonies so far as possible, in the hope of impressing some of the visiting Indians who were known to be opposed to the Mitä′wit, being members of the Dreamers' society, hereafter to be more fully described. One of the attending mitä′wok was a girl but 4 years of age, almost loaded down with elaborate beadwork, consisting of necklaces, medicine bags, and other ornaments. A singular fact connected with this little mitä′kwe, or female mitä′ᵛ, was that the mother, a mixed blood, was a staunch church member, and yet sat outside the mitä′wikŏ′mik, eagerly watching her child as the latter went through her part of the walks and dances.

It has been stated that, apart from admitting into the society a candidate to fill a vacancy caused by death, some obtain membership by virtue of having been brought into the mitä′wikŏ′mik for treatment, after all other means appear to have failed. A sick person may not be able to undergo any part of the ceremony himself, but for that purpose a mitä′ᵛ friend is delegated to act for the patient, the latter receiving the benefit of new life by proxy, as it were. The candidate or patient, should he recover, will subsequently be deemed a full-fledged member, and may, if he so desire, be regularly initiated at some future time.

It has been mentioned in connection with the ball game that when a mitä′ᵛ feels that he has neglected his duties to his ma′nido, or tutelary deity, his "heart feels sick:" and for the purpose of treating his heart as another patient, he brings forward as a candidate for initiation some one whom he may wish to honor by admission into the society, as well as to fulfill his obligations to his ma′nido and to Mä′näbŭsh. In this wise the candidate enacts, for the giver of the ceremony, the part of a delegated mitä′ᵛ, as in the case of a sick person. In this manner the little girl candidate produced by Mo′sihât acted for him, as he himself had a "sick heart," and was unable personally to go through the necessary procedure demanded by the ritual. The little girl was presented for initiation, first, to enact the part of a mitä′ᵛ, as Mo′sihât believed himself to be not in a proper mood or condition to do so, and second, he thus gave a favored relation the advantage of receiving the coveted honor of membership in the Mitä′wit.

Supplementary Note on the Ceremonies

The Mitä′wit of the Menomini appears to receive less attention each year, the reasons being attributable to a variety of causes, chief among which are (1) the fact that many of the Indians are adopting the Christian religion, as they begin to perceive the improved condition of those

who have done so; (2) because many of the younger men are attending school, and begin to observe the futility and uselessness of the various dances; and (3) the old men and women mitä'wok are slowly dying off, which makes it difficult to find candidates to fill their places. It is evident, therefore, that the life of the society is a question of only a few years more, and that the ceremonials of the Mitä'wit, as well as the exhibition of alleged powers, and the dances of the several classes of shamans, will ere long be a matter of tradition only.

TSHI'SAQKA, OR JUGGLERS

The greatest powers were always believed to be possessed by the tshi'saqka, though, on account of their greater number, the mitä'wok have been treated first.

The tshi'saqka, or juggler, class of shamans is limited, in the Menomini tribe, to very few individuals, probably not more than half a dozen professing the powers usually attributed to them. The jugglers were early mentioned by the Jesuits as being their greatest opponents in Christianizing the Indians; and as early as 1632 the Nipissing Indians of Canada had been designated as the nation of sorcerers. The Spaniards met with similar opposition when attempting to Christianize the Mexicans; and Father José de Acosta's description of one class of their sorcerers corresponds very closely to the accounts of pretensions of some of the Algonquian jugglers. He says:

> There were an infinite number of these witches, divines, enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaines yet at this day of this infection, althogh they be secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, divelish ceremonies, and superstitions, but their abuses and wickednes are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of Peru.
>
> There is a kinde of sorcerers amongst the Indians allowed by the Kings Yncas, which are, as it were, sooth-saiers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they please, flying farre through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Divell, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reverence much. They serve as coniurers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest partes, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the Spaniardes arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the mutinies, battailes, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants, and those of the King's partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this divination, they shut themselves into a house, and became drunk vntil they lost their sences, a day after they answered to that which was demanded.. Some affirme they vse certaine vnctions. The Indians say that the old women do commonly vse this office of witchcraft, and specially those of one Province, which they call Coaillo, and of another towne called Manchay, and of the Province of Huarochiri. They likewise shew what is become of things stolne and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all partes, to whom commonly doe come the Anaconas, and Chinas, which serve the Spaniardes, and when they have lost any thing of their masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniardes citties for their private affaires, or for the publike, they demaund if their voyage shall be prosperous, if they shall be sicke, if they shall die, or return safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend:

and the witches or coniurers answer, yea, or no, having first spoken with the Diveli, in an obscure place; so as these Anaconas do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these coniurers speake, neither do they vnderstand what they say.[1]

Jugglers were common in perhaps all of the Algonquian tribes, and indeed we have evidence of jugglery also among the Iroquois, for Charlevoix[2] says of the Hurons, whom he visited in 1635, that the jugglers had informed the Indians that the religion of the Freneh was not applicable to them, and that they, furthermore, had a religion of their own. On account of this antagonism the missionary fathers were frequently compelled to perform their priestly offices in secret.

The Indians of Acadia are said to have had their jugglers, termed autmoins, and Charlevoix[3] says of them—

A sick person often takes it into his head that his disease is owing to witchcraft, in which case their whole attention is employed in discovering it, which is the juggler's province. This personage begins with causing himself to be sweated, and after he has quite fatigued himself with shouting, beating himself, and invoking his genius, the first out-of-the-way thing that comes into his head, is that to which he attributes the cause of the disease. There are some who, before they enter the stove, take a draft of a composition very proper, they say, for disposing them to receive the divine impulse, and they pretend that the advent of the spirit is made manifest by a rushing wind, which suddenly rises; or by a bellowing heard under the ground; or by the agitation and shaking of the stove. Then, full of his pretended divinity, and more like a person possessed by the devil than one inspired of Heaven, he pronounces in a positive tone of voice on the state of the patient, and sometimes guesses tolerably just.

The "stove" mentioned in the above quotation is the conical structure usually designated as the jugglery, a description of which will hereafter be given. "These autmoins," continues Charlevoix, "had much more authority than the other jugglers, although they were not possessed of greater ability, nor were they less impostors."

It appears from this remark that the class of shamans, known among the western Algonquian tribes as the mitä′ᵛ, or midē′, was also represented among the eastern Indians of that stock, although the several classes are usually described under the designation of juggler or sorcerer.

Baron Lahontan, who was lord-lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia, in Newfoundland, and who visited the Algonquian tribes of

[1] Acosta, Natural and Moral History of the Indies; in Hakluyt Society publications, vol. 61, pp. 367–368, London, 1880 (from the English translation, edition of Ed. Grimston, 1604).

[2] Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, tome i, p. 295 et seq., Paris, 1744. "Ces Charlatans, qui craignoient de perdre la consideration, où les mettoit l'exercice de leur art, si les Missionnaires s'accréditoient dans le Pays, entreprirent de les rendre odieux & méprisables, & ils n'eurent pas dans ces commencemens beaucoup de peine à y réussir; non-seulement parce qu'ils avoient à faire à une Nation excessivement superstitieuse & ombrageuse, mais encore parce que plusieurs s'étoient déja mis dans la tête, que la Religion des François ne leur convenoit point, & qu'elle leur seroit même funeste, si elle s'établissoit parmi eux.

"Les Jongleurs vinrent donc aisément à bout de rendre suspectes toutes les démarches des Pères, & surtout leurs Prières, qu'ils faisoient regarder comme des maléfices; en sorte que ces Religieux étoient obligés de se cacher pour réciter leur Office, & pour s'acquitter des autres Exercices de dévotion."

[3] Journal of a Voyage to North America, vol. ii, p. 177, London, 1761.

the northwest in the latter part of the seventeenth century, speaks of the treatment of the sick by the natives, and with reference to the shaman says:

A *Jongleur* is a sort of *Physician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of some dangerous Distemper, has the Presumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and possessed of the Power of curing all Diseases, by speaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon these Fellows when they are absent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have lost their Senses by some violent Distemper, yet they allow 'em to visit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of seeing them rave, skip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were possess'd. When all the Bustle is over, they demand a Feast of a Stag and some large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diversion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to visit the Patient, he examines him very carefully; *If the Evil Spirit be here*, says he, *we shall quickly dislodge him*. This said, he withdraws by himself to a little Tent made on purpose, where he dances and sings houling like an Owl; (which gives the Jesuits Occasion to say, *That the Devil converses with 'em.*) After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in some part of his Body, and pulling some little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That these very Bones came out of his Body; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Distemper is but a Trifle; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 'twill be convenient to send his own and his Relations Slaves to shoot Elks, Deer, &c., to the end they may all eat of that sort of Meat, upon which his Cure does absolutely depend.*

Commonly these Quacks bring 'em some Juices of Plants, which are a sort of Purges, and are called Maskikik. But the Patients choose to keep them by 'em rather than to drink them; for think all Purgatives inflame the Mass of the Blood, and weaken the Veins and Arteries by their violent Shocks.[1]

In his reference to the Indians (Ojibwa?) in the vicinity of Fort Nelson, on Hudson bay, M. de Bacqueville de la Potherie[2] remarks:

Ils reconnoissent comme ces anciens heretiques un bon & un mauvais esprit. Ils appellent le premier le *Quichemanitou*. C'est le Dieu de prosperité. C'est celui dont ils imaginent recevoir tous les secours de la vie, qui préside dans tous les effets heureux de la nature. Le *Matchimanitou* au contraire est le Dieu fatal. Ils l'adorent plus par crainte que par amour. . . .

"Faire fumer le Soleil ne se pratique guere que dans des occasions de grande consequence, & pour ce qui regarde leur culte ordinaire ils s'adressent à leur *Manitou*, qui est proprement leur Dieu tutelaire. Ce *Manitou* est quelquefois un ongle de castor, le bout de la corne d'un pied de Caribou, une petite peau d'hermine. J'en vis une attachée derriere le dos d'un Esquimau lorsque nous étions dans le détroit qu'il ne voulut jamais me donner, quoiqu'il me traita generalement tous les habits dont il étoit vétu, un morceau de dents de vache marine, de nageoire de loup marin, & la plûpart reçoivent des Jongleurs ce *Manitou* qu'ils portent toûjours avec eux.

Le démon paroit s'être emparé de l'esprit de ces infortunez qui voulant sçavoir l'évenement de quelques affaires, s'adressent à leurs Jongleurs, qui sont, si je peux me servir de ce terme, des Sorciers. La Jonglerie se fait differemment. Elle se fait de cette maniere parmi plûpart des Sauvages qui viennent faire le traite. Le Jongleur fait une cabane en rond, faite de perches extrémement enforcées dans la terre, entourée de peaux de Caribou ou d'autres animaux, avec une ouverture en haut assez large pour passer un homme. Le Jongleur qui s'y renferme tout seul, chante, pleure,

[1] New Voyages to North-America, vol. ii, pp. 47, 48, London, 1703.

[2] Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, vol. i., p. 121 et seq., Paris, 1753.

s'agite, se tourmente, fait des invocations & des imprécations, à peu prés comme la Sibille dont parle Virgile, qui poussée de l'esprit d'Apollon rendoit ses Oracles avec cette même fureur,

> At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
> Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit,
> Excussisse Deum: tanto magis ille fatigat,
> Os rabidum? fera corda domans, fingit que premendo.—*Vir. I, 6, v. 77.*

Il fait au *Matchimanitou* les demandes qu'il souhaite. Celui-ci voulant donner réponse, l'on entend tout à coup un bruit sourd comme une roche qui tombe, & toutes ces perches sont agitées avec une violence si surprenante, qui l'on croiroit que tout est renversé. Le Jongleur reçoit ainsi l'oracle: & cette confiance qu'ils ont aux veritez qu'il prononce souvent, sont autant d'obstacles à tout ce que l'on peut leur reprocher sur la fausse erreur où ils sont: aussi se donnent ils de garde, qu'aucun François n'entre dans l'endroit où se fait la Jonglerie.

Hennepin[1] speaks of the religion and sorcerers of the tribes of the Saint Lawrence and those living about the great lakes, as follows:

We have been all too sadly convinced, that almost all the Salvages in general have no notion of a God, and that they are not able to comprehend, the most ordinary Arguments on that Subject; others will have a Spirit that commands, say they, in the Air. Some among 'em look upon the Skie as a kind of Divinity; others as an *Otkon* or *Manitou*, either Good or Evil.

These People admit of some sort of Genius in all things; they all believe there is a Master of Life, as they call him, but hereof they made various applications; some of them have a lean Raven, which they carry always along with them, and which they say is the Master of their Life; others have an Owl, and some again a Bone, a Sea-Shell, or some such thing.

There is no Nation among 'em which has not a sort of Juglers or Conjurers, which some look upon to be Wizards, but in my Opinion there is no Great reason to believe 'em such, or to think that their Practice favours any thing of a Communication with the Devil.

These Impostors cause themselves to be reverenced as Prophets which fore-tell Futurity. They will needs be look'd upon to have an unlimited Power. They boast of being able to make it Wet or Dry; to cause a Calm or a Storm; to render Land Fruitful or Barren; and, in a Word, to make Hunters Fortunate or Unfortunate. They also pretend to Physick, and to apply Medicines, but which are such, for the most part as having little Virtue at all in 'em, especially to Cure that Distemper which they pretend to.

It is impossible to imagine, the horrible Howlings and strange Contortions that those Jugglers make of their Bodies, when they are disposing themselves to Conjure, or raise their Enchantments.

Carver gives a description of a Killistino, or Cree, juggler's performance, which will further illustrate the method of procedure as followed by this division of the Algonquian peoples. The narrator had been expecting the arrival of the traders, as provisions were getting very low, and, while in a state of anxiety, the "chief priest" of the tribe said he would endeavor to obtain a conference with the Great Spirit, and thus ascertain when the traders would come. Carver[2] says:

I paid little attention to this declaration, supposing that it would be productive of some juggling trick, just sufficiently covered to deceive the ignorant Indians.

[1] A continuation of the New Discovery, etc., p. 59 et seq., London, 1689.

[2] Travels through the interior of North America in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, p. 123 et seq., London, 1778.

But the king of that tribe, telling me that this was chiefly undertaken by the priest to alleviate my anxiety, and at the same time to convince me how much interest he had with the Great Spirit, I thought it necessary to restrain my animadversions on his design.

The following evening was fixed upon for this spiritual conference. When everything had been properly prepared, the king came to me and led me to a capacious tent, the covering of which was drawn up, so as to render what was transacting within visible to those who stood without. We found the tent surrounded by a great number of the Indians, but we readily gained admission, and seated ourselves on skins laid on the ground for that purpose.

In the centre I observed that there was a place of an oblong shape, which was composed of stakes stuck in the ground, with intervals between, so as to form a kind of chest or coffin, large enough to contain the body of a man. These were of a middle size, and placed at such a distance from each other that whatever lay within them was readily to be discerned. . . . In a few minutes the priest entered, when, an amazingly large elk's skin being spread on the ground just at my feet, he laid himself down upon it, after having stripped himself of every garment except that which he wore close about his middle. Being now prostrate on his back, he first laid hold of one side of the skin and folded it over him, and then the other, leaving only his head uncovered. This was no sooner done than two of the young men who stood by took about 40 yards of strong cord, made also of an elk's hide, and rolled it tight round his body, so that he was completely swathed within the skin. Being thus bound up like an Egyptian mummy, one took him by the heels and the other by the head and lifted him over the pales into the inclosure. I could now also discern him as plain as I had hitherto done, and I took care not to turn my eyes a moment from the object before me, that I might the more readily detect the artifice, for such I doubted not but that it would turn out to be.

The priest had not lain in this situation more than a few seconds when he began to mutter. This he continued to do for some time, and then by degrees grew louder and louder till at length he spoke articulately; however, what he uttered was in such a mixed jargon of the Chippeway, Ottawaw, and Killistinoe languages that I could understand but very little of it. Having continued in this tone for a considerable while, he at last exerted his voice to its utmost pitch, sometimes raving and sometimes praying, till he had worked himself into such an agitation that he foamed at his mouth.

After having remained near three-quarters of an hour in the place, and continued his vociferation with unabated vigor, he seemed quite exhausted, and remained speechless. But in an instant he sprung upon his feet, notwithstanding at the time he was put in, it appeared impossible for him to move either his legs or arms, and shaking off his covering, as quick as if the bands with which it had been bound were burned asunder, he began to address those who stood around in a firm and audible voice. "My brothers," said he, "the Great Spirit has deigned to hold a talk with his servant at my earnest request. He has not, indeed, told me when the persons we expect will be here, but to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the people in that will inform us when the traders will come." Having said this, he stepped out of the inclosure, and after he had put on his robes, dismissed the assembly. I own I was greatly astonished at what I had seen, but, as I observed that every eye in the company was fixed on me with a view to discover my sentiments, I carefully concealed every emotion.

The next day the sun shone bright, and long before noon all the Indians were gathered together on the eminence that overlooked the lake. The old king came to me and asked me whether I had so much confidence in what the priest had foretold as to join his people on the hill and wait for the completion of it. I told him that I was at a loss what opinion to form of the prediction, but that I would readily attend him. On this, we walked together to the place where the others were assembled.

Every eye was again fixed by turns on me and on the lake; when, just as the sun had reached his zenith, agreeable to what the priest had foretold, a canoe came round a point of land about a league distant. The Indians no sooner beheld it than they sent up an universal shout, and by their looks seemed to triumph in the interest their priest thus evidently had with the Great Spirit.

In less than an hour the canoe reached the shore, when I attended the king and chiefs to receive those who were on board. . . . The king inquired of them whether they had seen anything of the traders? The men replied that they had parted from them a few days before, and that they proposed being here the second day from the present. They accordingly arrived at that time, greatly to our satisfaction. . . .

This story I acknowledge appears to carry with it marks of great credulity in the relator. But no one is less tinctured with that weakness than myself. The circumstances of it I own are of a very extraordinary nature; however, as I can vouch for their being free from either exaggeration or misrepresentation, being myself a cool and dispassionate observer of them all, I thought it necessary to give them to the public, . . . but leaving them to draw from it what conclusions they please.

Thus it will be observed that the juggler, after having been carefully wrapped and tied, was placed within his tshi'saqkan or jugglery, which in Carver's description is likened to a chest or a coffin. The juggler, at this day, enters his jugglery alone and unassisted, although it is reported that some of the Ojibwa performers will permit themselves to be securely tied, placed within the jugglery, and a moment later be at liberty and the cords at some other locality. Further information in regard to this subject, as relating to the Ojibwa, has already been presented in a paper entitled "The Midē'wiwin or Grand Medicine society of the Ojibwa," published in the seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The power of prophecy and prevision is claimed by the juggler, and the citation of an instance of this, from the work of Peter Jones,[1] may not be without interest. The author mentioned was a Protestant Episcopal clergyman and a member of the Misasauga tribe of the Ojibwa nation, of Canada. He thus remarks:

I have sometimes been inclined to think that, if witchcraft still exists in the world, it is to be found among the aborigines of America. They seem to possess a power which, it would appear, may be fairly imputed to the agency of an evil spirit.

The conjurers not only pretend to have the powers already specified, but they profess also to have the gift of foretelling future events. The following curious account on this subject I received from a respectable gentleman who had spent most of his life in the Indian country, and who is therefore well acquainted with their character and pretensions. He is now one of the Government Indian agents in Upper Canada.

The following account is then given by this author:

In the year 1804, wintering with the Winnebagoes on the Rock river, I had occasion to send three of my men to another wintering house for some flour which I had left there in the fall, on my way up the river. The distance being about one and a half days' journey from where I lived, they were expected to return in about three days. On the sixth day after their absence, I was about sending in quest of them, when some Indians, arriving from the spot, said that they had seen nothing of them. I could now use no means to ascertain where they were. The plains were extensive,

[1] Hist. of the Ojebway Indians, p. 147 et seq., London, [1843?].

the paths numerous, and the tracks they had made were the next moment covered by the drift snow. Patience was my only resource, and at length I gave them up for lost.

On the fourteenth night after their departure, as several Indians were smoking their pipes, and telling stories of their war parties, hunting, etc., an old fellow, who was a daily visitor, came in. My interpreter, a Canadian named Felix, pressed me, as he had frequently done before, to employ this conjurer, as he could inform me about the men in question. The dread of being laughed at had hitherto prevented my acceding to his importunities; but now, excited by curiosity, I gave the old man a quarter-pound of tobacco and two yards of ribbon, telling him that if he gave me a true account of them, I would, when I ascertained the fact, give him a bottle of rum. . . . The old fellow withdrew, and the other Indians retired to their lodges.

A few minutes after, I heard Wahwun (an egg) begin a lamentable song, his voice increasing to such a degree that I really thought he would have injured himself. The whole forest appeared to be in agitation, as if the trees were knocking against each other, then all would be silent for a few seconds; again the old fellow would scream and yell as if he were in great distress. A chill seized me and my hair stood on end; the interpreter and I stared at each other without power to express our feelings.

The narrative states that finally everything became quiet, and the next morning the Indian was sent for, for an explanation.

"I went," said he, "to smoke the pipe with your men last night, and found them cooking some elk meat which they got from an Ottawa Indian. On leaving this place they took the wrong road on the top of the hill; they traveled hard on and did not know for two days that they were lost. When they discovered their situation they were much alarmed, and, having nothing more to eat, were afraid they would starve to death. They walked on without knowing which way they were going until the seventh day, when they were met near the Illinois river by the Ottawa before named, who was out hunting. He took them to his lodge, fed them well, and wanted to detain them some days until they had recovered their strength; but they would not stay. He then gave them some elk meat for their journey home, and sent his son to put them into the right road. They will go to Lagothenes for the flour you sent them, and will be at home in three days." I then asked him what kind of place they were encamped in when he was there. He said "they had made a shelter by the side of a large oak tree that had been torn up by the roots, and which had fallen with the head towards the rising sun."

All this I noted down, and from the circumstantial manner in which he related every particular—though he could not possibly have had any personal communication with or from them by any other Indians—I began to hope my men were safe and that I should again see them.

Suffice it to say that on the appointed day the men returned, and, upon being asked to give an account of their experience, they told exactly what the Indian had before stated, not omitting the tree or any other circumstance.

In an account of the life and customs of the Indians of Canada in 1723, found in the archives of France by the Honorable Lewis Cass,[1] while minister to that country, the narrator says:

They perform a thousand tricks of magic, pretending they can bring back dead animals to life, cause an otter to run across the lodge, or a bear to walk in there.

[1] Cass MS., translated by Charles Whittlesey, in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, pp. 145, 146, 1857.

They do this by means of young girls and noises that are apparently under ground. With an arrow they pretend to stab the naked body of a man. To show the blood flowing, they lay upon the supposed wound, very adroitly, the juice of a red root. The arrow has its stem so made that when it strikes the body, instead of entering it, it slides within itself. The pretended wound is rubbed with a salve composed of roots, and by this means the injured man is cured upon the spot. This is done to prove the virtue of their medicines. They cure gun-shot wounds in the same way, before the whole tribe. But, in truth, the ball is made of earth, rubbed over with lead, which they break in pieces in the barrel of the piece as it is driven down.

The locality referred to appears to be near Mackinaw, and may refer either to the Ojibwa or to the Ottawa Indians.

The Abbé J. A. Maurault,[1] says regarding the subject:

La jonglerie était en grande vénération chez ces sauvages, et les jongleurs jouissaient d'une très-grande influence auprès d'eux. Ces pauvres gens, extrêmement superstitieux, avaient une telle confiance aux sortiléges de ces imposteurs qu'ils se soumettaient aveuglement à toutes leurs ordonnances, les considérant comme venant de l'autre monde. Les jongleurs, suivant eux, évoquaient les Esprits du Mal, qu'ils appelaient "Madaôdos," avaient le pouvoir de les vaincre, prédisaient le beau temps et le mauvais temps, l'heureuse ou la mauvaise fortune dans la chasse, les accidents qui devaient arriver dans un voyage, le résultat d'une expédition contre l'ennemi, et mille autres choses. Les sauvages avait une telle confiance aux sentences des jongleurs qu'ils n'entreprenaient jamais une chose de quelqu'importance sans les consulter.

Chaque sauvage recevait d'eux certains objets, qui étaient appelés "Madaôdos." Ces objets étaient des petites pierres, ou des os, ou des morceaux de certains bois, ou autres choses semblables. Les sauvages conservaient ces objets dans des sacs, et les considéraient comme un grand préservatif contre les attaques des Esprits du Mal. Plusieurs conservaient un grand nombre de ces "Madaôdos."

La jonglerie solennelle était une chose qui inspirait de l'horreur. Elle se faisait dans les circonstances importantes comme à la veille d'une guerre, pour en connaitre d'avance le résultat. Voici comment se faisait cette jonglerie. Le jongleur s'enfermait seul dans une petite cabane, faite ordinairement d'écorces de bouleau. Alors, il évoquait hautement l'Esprit du Mal. Il passait quelque fois plusieurs heures dans cette cabane à se débattre et à crier comme un démon. Les sauvages se tenaient à une certaine distance de la loge aux sortiléges, attendant avec une grande anxiété la prophétie favorable ou défavorable. Lorsque le jongleur en était rendu à un tel état d'épuisement qu'il ne pouvait plus crier, il sortait de sa loge, le corps tout ruisselant de sueurs, et annonçait le résultat de son sortilége. Sa parole était alors reçue comme venant du ciel.

Les jongleurs soignaient les malades, prédisaient leur guérison ou leur mort, évoquaient et chassaient les "Madaôdos," qui les tourmentaient et les faisaient souffrir.

Lorsqu'un jongleur était appelé auprès d'un malade, il déclarait ordinairement de suite qu'un "Madaôdo" voulait faire mourir ce malade. Il sortait alors du wiguam, faisant mine d'aller à la recherche de cet Esprit; puis revenait bientôt, et annonçait qu'il était caché sous terre, à un endroit qu'il indiquait, mais qu'il saurait bien l'en arracher et le détuire. Voici ce qu'il faisait alors. Il enfonçait profondément dans le sol un poteau, auquel il attachait une longue corde, par le moyen de laquelle les sauvages devaient réunir leurs efforts pour l'arracher. Ordinairement les premiers efforts des sauvages étaient inutiles. Alors le jongleur, faisant mine d'aller menacer le "Madaôdo" obstiné, remuait la terre au pied du potean, qui, après plusieurs essais, était enfin arraché. Le jongleur, tout rayonnant de joie, montrait alors aux sauvages étonnés des arêtes de poisson, des os ou autres objets, fixés à l'extrémité

[1] Histoire des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, pp. 29–32.

du poteau qui sortait de terre, disant que ces objets étaient les restes du "Madaódo" qu'il venait de détruire. Les sauvages, ignorant que le jongleur avait lui-même préalablement fixé ces objets au poteau, admiraient ce grand prodige.

Si la maladie ne diminuait pas à la suite de ce sortilége, le jongleur annonçait que le malade mourrait dans trois ou quatre jours. Alors, le pauvre malade, effrayé par cette prediction, et convaincu désormais qu'il allait mourir, refusait de prendre nourriture, et mourait d'inanition, à peu près au temps fixé par le jongleur.

Mr Hiram Calkins[1] mentions the performance of an Ojibwa who lived on Wisconsin river, near the Menomini country, which apparently embraced the pretensions of both the tshi'saqka and the wâ'beno:

The chief medicine man or conjurer is Mah-ca-da-o-gung, or The Black Nail, who performed the feat of descending the Long Falls in his canoe, and is represented by the other Indians as being a great medicine man. He is always called upon, far and near, in cases of sickness, or in the absence of relatives, to foretell whether the sickness will prove fatal or whether the friends will return in safety, and at what time. He is also consulted by the Indians when they go out to hunt the bear, to foretell whether success will crown their efforts. Before performing these services, he is always paid by the Indians with such articles as they have, which generally consist of tobacco, steel-traps, kettles, broadcloth, calico, and a variety of other commodities. He usually performs after dark, in a wigwam just large enough to admit of his standing erect. This lodge or wigwam is tightly covered with mats, so as entirely to exclude all light and the prying curiosity of all outsiders. Having no light within the lodge, the acts and utterances of the medicine man or conjurer are regarded as mysterious, and credulously received by the wondering crowd surrounding the tent. He first prepares himself in his family wigwam by stripping off all his clothing, when he emerges singing, and the Indians outside join him in the song with their drums, and accompany him to the lodge, which he enters alone. Upon entering, the lodge commences shaking violently, which is supposed by the Indians outside to be caused by the spirits. The shaking of the lodge produces a great noise by the rattling of bells and deers' hoofs fastened to the poles of the lodge at the top, and at the same time three voices are distinctly heard intermingled with this noise. One is a very heavy hoarse voice, which the Indians are made to believe is that of the Great Spirit; another is a very fine voice, represented to be that of a Small Spirit, while the third is that of the medicine man himself. He pretends that the Great Spirit converses in the heavy voice to the lesser spirit, unintelligibly to the conjurer, and the lesser spirit interprets it to him, and he communicates the intelligence to his brethren without. The ceremony lasts about three hours, when he comes out in a high state of perspiration, supposed by the superstitious Indians to be produced by mental excitement.

The structure described by the Reverend Peter Jones,[2] which he saw occupied by a juggler while the latter was engaged in consulting the ma'nidos, was "made by putting seven poles in the ground to the depth of about a cubit, in a circle of about 3 or 4 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet high, with one or more hoops tied fast to the poles to keep them in a circle. The sides were covered with birch bark, but the top was left open. Into this the pow-wow had entered, and was chanting a song to the spirit with whom he wished to converse. The jeesuhkon began to shake as if filled with wind."

The Menomini structure is about the same size as that above named, but not so large as the jugglery usually erected by the Ojibwa of north-

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, pp. 123, 124, 1855.

[2] Op. cit., p. 115.

ern Minnesota. The Menomini tshi'saqkan is composed of four upright poles from 6 to 8 feet high, securely planted in the ground at the east, south, west, and north sides of a circle measuring 3 to 4 feet in diameter. These poles are from 4 to 6 inches thick. Around them is wrapped bark, and sometimes even pieces of cloth, to make the interior invisible from without (figure 20).

The tshi'saqka sometimes enters this place when he wants to consult the ma'nidos about the future. The latter come here and tell him what

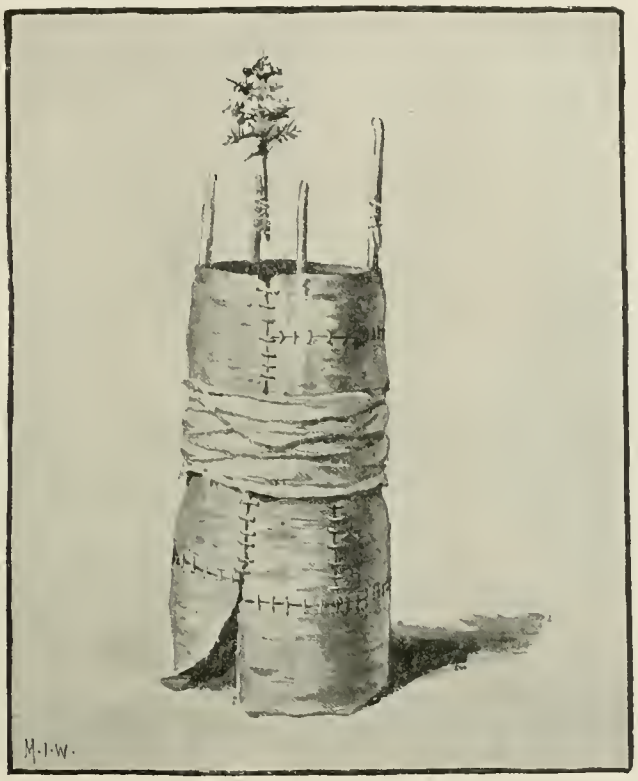


FIG. 20—Tshi'saqkan or jugglery.

he wishes to know. To invoke their presence, he first enters the inclosure, then facing the east, addresses the ma'nidos who are supposed to abide in that direction, that they come to him; then he faces the south, and invokes the presence of the ma'nidos from that direction; then he talks to the ma'nidos who live in the west; and finally he turns to the north, and appeals to the ma'nidos of that region.

The following data are obtained from Mēnomini Indians who are members of the Mitä'wit, as well as from others who have laid aside their aboriginal beliefs and embraced Christianity. Although the structures exist at the present day, no prophecies have been made in this manner

for some years, but the ma'nidos have been consulted for remedies wherewith to combat violent symptoms of disease supposed to have been caused by angry or jealous rivals.

Then the tshi'saqka lies on the ground and begins to chant, during which time the ma'nidos begin to arrive. Their arrival is made known to those outside by the air swaying the top of the structure, and the wind also can be felt and heard.

The ma'nidos are next heard dropping upon the ground within, and their voices can be distinguished. Presently the assistant, or perhaps the one who desires information, goes to the tshi'saqkan and taps—with a stick or other object—upon the four upright poles in regular order, beginning at the east, then passing to the south, the west, and the north, and asks if all the ma'nidos have arrived. The tshi'saqka replies that all have arrived save one—his own personal ma'nido. Then the tshi'saqka sings and drums again, and presently a voice is heard above the tshi'saqkan, resembling the voice of the tshi'saqka. Their voices are similar, and the conversation between them is heard by all those seated or standing near by.

FIG. 21.—Juggler's rattle.

The rattle employed by the juggler, both in the jugglery and when exorcising demons, is shown in figure 21.

The Miqkä'no—the turtle—is the most powerful of all the ma'nidos, and he, as the speaker for the others, is consulted for information; but should the tshi'saqka ask too many, or any injudicious questions, the personal ma'nido will be heard above the tshi'saqkan, in the same tone of voice as the interrogation, advising the latter to be careful, or not to be incautious in his demands.

When such a service has been performed in the interest of a sick person, the friends and family of the sick believe that the illness has been caused by the anger of an enemy through the influence of another tshi'saqka. The one consulted by the friends of the sick man is expected to reveal the name of the injuring conjurer, and to bring his shade into the tshi'saqkan. This is done, and the Miqkä'no is then the ma'nido who kicks the shade of the conjurer almost to death; if he is too much hurt and loses consciousness, the other ma'nidos bring his shade back to life, so that he is able to respond to the questions of the tshi'saqka, who asks him how and why he caused the illness of the person. The shade of the conjurer then relates how he did this wrong, and the reason therefor, and he is then told to restore him to health. If the conjurer promises to do this, all is well, and the patient is expected to recover in a short time.

If the conjurer refuses to comply with the demands of the tshi'saqka, the latter asks for a cedar knife, which the assistant throws into the

structure, when the Miqkä'no takes it and stabs the conjurer's shade to death. The bloody knife is then thrown out into the crowd, but it falls on the ground without touching any one, no matter how large the crowd may be. As the knife falls near one of the friends or relations of the sick, the person is by this token called on to kill the conjurer. In a short time, perhaps after a lapse of several weeks, the conjurer is found in his own wigwam stabbed to death.

When the tutelary daimon of the conjurer reveals the nature of the remedies used by him in having caused the illness of any one, he often reveals the remedy necessary to cure him; then the tshi'saqka may prepare it and give it himself. People always pay the tshi'saqka in presents of cloth, robes, furs, or any other objects which they may possess and which may be regarded by the tshi'saqka as a satisfactory return for his services.

The method of removing disease by sucking the cause thereof through bone tubes has been fully described in my paper on the Ojibwa Midē'wiwin, before mentioned. The juggler, after taking a vapor bath, returns to his everyday wigwam, seats himself upon a blanket, and awaits the arrival of the patient, if the latter is in condition to be brought.

When the patient is laid down near the juggler, the latter has also before him a basin or bowl containing some water, and several bone tubes varying in length from 2 to 5 inches, and from one-third to one-half an inch in diameter. An assistant drums upon the tambourine drum, as the juggler uses the rattle with one hand, while with the other he grasps a tube which he places over the part of the patient's body affected by the presence of a demon, or by some substance put there by another sorcerer, juggler, or wâ'beno. After chanting for a short time, the operator places his mouth to the tube and sucks violently; then assuming his former position he strikes the bone, which projects from his mouth, with the palm of his hand and apparently drives it down his throat. Then he goes through a similar performance until the disappearance of the second, the third, and every other tube that he may have. After considerable contortion and retching, he pretends to vomit into the basin the poison which had been extracted from the patient, the bones also making their appearance.

Alexander Henry, who was among the Ojibwa Indians at Mackinaw, and also through the surrounding country, over one hundred years ago, says:

> I was once present at a performance of this kind, in which the patient was a female child of about 12 years of age. Several of the elder chiefs were invited to the scene, and the same compliment was paid to myself on account of the medical skill for which it was pleased to give me credit.
>
> The physician (so to call him) seated himself on the ground, and before him, on a new stroud blanket, was placed a basin of water, in which were three bones, the larger ones, as it appeared to me, of a swan's wing. In his hand he had his shishiquoi, or rattle, with which he beat time to his medicine-song. The sick child lay

on a blanket near the physician. She appeared to have much fever and a severe oppression of the lungs, breathing with difficulty, and betraying symptoms of the last stage of consumption.

After singing for some time, the physician took one of the bones out of the basin. The bone was hollow, and one end being applied to the breast of the patient, he put the other into his mouth, in order to remove the disorder by suction. Having persevered in this as long as he thought proper, he suddenly seemed to force the bone into his mouth and swallow it. He now acted the part of one suffering severe pain, but presently finding relief he made a long speech, and after this returned to singing and to the accompaniment of his rattle. With the latter, during his song, he struck his head, breast, sides, and back, at the same time straining as if to vomit forth the bone.

Relinquishing this attempt, he applied himself to suction a second time, and with the second of the three bones; and this also he soon seemed to swallow.

Upon its disappearance he began to distort himself in the most frightful manner, using every gesture which could convey the idea of pain. At length he succeeded, or pretended to succeed, in throwing up one of the bones. This was handed about to the spectators and strictly examined, but nothing remarkable could be discovered. Upon this, he went back to his song and rattle, and after some time threw up the second of the two bones. In the groove of this the physician, upon examination, found and displayed to all present a small white substance resembling a piece of the quill of a feather. It was passed round the company, from one to the other, and declared by the physician to be the thing causing the disorder of his patient.

The multitude believe that these physicians, whom the French call jongleurs, or jugglers, can inflict as well as remove disorders. They believe that by drawing the figure of any person in sand or ashes, or on clay, or by considering any object as the figure of a person, and then pricking it with a sharp stick or other substance, or doing in any other manner that which done to a living body would cause pain or injury, the individual represented, or supposed to be represented, will suffer accordingly. On the other hand, the mischief being done, another physician, of equal pretensions, can by suction remove it. Unfortunately, however, the operations which I have described were not successful in the instance referred to, for on the day after they had taken place the girl died.[1]

The office of "rainmaker" is also held by a conspicuous juggler, when one of sufficient ability is supposed to abide with the tribe. When in times of great drought the chief demands rain for the benefit of the crops and disappearing streams, the juggler is commanded to cause the necessary rainfall; or, when too much rain has fallen, his powers are likewise called into requisition to stay the storm. The rainmaker is found in various tribes in which but little evidence of the existence of other pretenders is met with, though reference is made by Father Juan Bautista, in a work published at Mexico, as early as the year 1600,[2] that—

> There are magicians who call themselves teciuhtlazque, and also by the term nanahualtin, who conjure the clouds when there is danger of hail, so that the crops may not be injured. They can also make a stick look like a serpent, a mat like a centipede, a piece of stone like a scorpion, and similar deceptions. Others of these nanahualtin will transform themselves to all appearances (segun la aparencia), into a tiger, a dog, or a weasel. Others again will take the form of an owl, a cock, or a

[1] Travels and Adventures (1760–1776), pp. 119–121, New York, 1809.

[2] Quoted from Brinton's Nagualism, A Study in Native American Folk-Lore and History, in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., vol. xxxiii, p. 14, Philadelphia, 1894.

weasel; and when one is preparing to seize them, they will appear now as a cock, now as an owl, and again as a weasel. These call themselves nanahualtin.

In this connection it may be said that the powers of both the juggler and the wâ′beno of the Algonquian tribes appear to be combined. It it is quite probable, however, that more specific distinctions might have been observed to exist between the two professions had more thorough investigation and careful discrimination been made, though this is always a difficult proceeding with shamans when attempted by ecclesiastics, the so-called agents of the Kishä′ Ma′nido of a common enemy.

THE WÂ′BENO

The term wâ′beno has been explained by various intelligent Indians as signifying "men of the dawn," "eastern men," etc. The profession of the wâ′beno has not been thoroughly understood and little mention of it has been made by authors, but from personal investigation it has been ascertained that a wâ′beno does not affiliate with others of his class so as to constitute a society, but indulges in his pretensions individually. A wâ′beno is primarily prompted by dreams or visions which may occur during his youth, for which purpose he leaves his village to fast for an indefinite number of days. It is positively affirmed that evil ma′nidos favor his desires, and apart from his general routine of furnishing "hunting medicine," "love powders," etc, he pretends also to practice medical magic. When a hunter has been successful through the supposed aid of the wâ′beno, he supplies the latter with part of the game; then, in giving a feast to his tutelary daimon, the wâ′beno will invite a number of friends, but all who desire to come are welcome. This feast is given at night; singing and dancing are boisterously indulged in, and the wâ′beno, to sustain his reputation, entertains his visitors with a further exhibition of his skill. Through the use of plants he is alleged to be enabled to take up and handle with impunity red-hot stones and burning brands, and without evincing the slightest discomfort it is said that he will bathe his hands in boiling water, or even in boiling sirup. On account of such performances, the general impression prevails among the Indians that the wâ′beno is a "dealer in fire," or a "fire handler." Such exhibitions always terminate at the approach of day.

The wâ′beno is believed to appear at times in the guise of various animals, in which form he may inflict injuries on an individual for whose destruction he has received a fee. At night he may be seen flying rapidly along in the shape of a ball of fire, or of a pair of fiery sparks, like the eyes of some monstrous beast.

The nahual or sorcerer of Mexico of the present day is accredited by the lower classes with similar powers. Orozco y Berra[1] says:

> The nahual is generally an old Indian with red eyes, who knows how to turn himself into a dog, woolly, black, and ugly. The female which can convert herself into

[1] Historia Antigua de Mexico, vol. ii, 25. (Quoted from Brinton's Nagualism, op. cit. p. 18.)

a ball of fire; she has the power of flight, and at night will enter the windows and suck the blood of little children. These sorcerers will make little images of rags or of clay; then stick into them the thorn of the magney and place them in some secret place. You can be sure that the person against whom the conjuration is practiced will feel pain in the part where the thorn is inserted.

The number of these pretenders who are not members of the Midē′wiwin is very limited. For instance, there are at present but two or three at White Earth reservation and none at Leech lake. As a general rule, however, the wâ′beno will seek entrance into the Midē′wiwin when he becomes more of a specialist in the practice of medical magic, incantations, and the exorcism of malevolent ma′nidos.

Concerning the wâ′beno, Reverend Peter Jones[1] says:

Witches and wizards are persons supposed to possess the agency of familiar spirits, from whom they receive power to inflict diseases on their enemies, prevent the good luck of the hunter, and the success of the warrior. They are believed to fly invisibly at pleasure from place to place; to turn themselves into bears, wolves, foxes, owls, bats, and snakes. Such metamorphoses they pretend to accomplish by putting on the skins of these animals, at the same time crying and howling in imitation of the creature they wish to represent. Several of our people have informed me that they have seen and heard witches in the shape of these animals, especially the bear and the fox. They say that when a witch in the shape of a bear is being chased, all at once she will run round a tree or a hill, so as to be lost sight of for a time by her pursuers; and then, instead of seeing a bear, they behold an old woman walking quietly along, or digging up roots, and looking as innocent as a lamb. The fox witches are known by the flame of fire which proceeds out of their mouths every time they bark.

This belief in the transformation of the wâ′beno into some animate form, under which disguise he may inflict injury on his victim and immediately thereafter resume his natural form, is still very prevalent among the primitive Menomini, and frequently I have had considerable difficulty in persuading some of the younger men to accompany me through a forest, after nightfall, either in going to, or returning from, ceremonies at which I was to be in attendance.

The tricks accredited to the wâ′beno are numerous, and often exceedingly romantic. The following performance is said to have occurred at White Earth, Minnesota, in the presence of a large gathering of Indians and mixed bloods. Two small wigwams were erected, about 50 paces from each other, and after the wâ′beno had crawled into one of them his disparagers built around each of the structures a continuous heap of brush and firewood, which was then kindled. When the blaze was at its height all became hushed for a moment. Presently the wâ′beno called to the crowd that he had transferred himself to the other wigwam, and immediately, to their profound astonishment, crawled forth therefrom unharmed.

Charlevoix alludes to certain magic of the Indians which he refers to the juggling: but as all shamans were, at the time of the description, designated jugglers, and as no specific name was suggested for

[1] History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 145.

the wâ′beno, I am rather inclined to the opinion that, as the practice mentioned below was with fire, the performers alluded to were the wâ′beno. The above-named writer says:

It is pretended that all the Algonquins and Abenaquis formerly practiced a kind of pyromancy, the whole mystery of which is as follows: They reduced to a very fine powder some charcoal, made of cedar; they disposed this powder in their own manner, and afterwards set fire to it, and by the form which the fire took whilst it ran along this powder, they pretended to discover what they wanted to know.

The wâ′beno′ak were also formerly believed to be familiar with the properties of plants and other substances, which, if properly combined, would prove efficacious in causing the most indifferent man or woman to fall in love with the person wearing it about his person. Such preparations are termed love powders, and have been frequently alluded to by various writers, the statement of only one being here quoted. The Reverend Peter Jones remarks on this preparation:

This is a particular kind of charm which they use when they wish to obtain the object of their affections. It is made of roots and red ochre. With this they paint their faces, believing it to possess a power so irresistible as to cause the object of their desire to love them. But the moment this medicine is taken away, and the charm withdrawn, the person who before was almost frantic with love, hates with a perfect hatred.[1]

It is doubtful whether the reverend gentleman, although himself an Indian, had any suspicion of the actual composition of the preparation of which he speaks as having been employed by the Misasauga Ojibwa. The Ojibwa of Minnesota are very expert in this line of preparing so-called charm remedies—so much so, in fact, that the less-cultured whites are firm believers in the reputed properties of the substance named, while many of the more intelligent seriously ask if there is truth in the stories related.

While treating of this class of shamans and their alleged powers in the exposition of the ritual and ceremonies of the Midē′wiwin of the Ojibwa Indians,[2] I had occasion to explain, in the following words, the composition and method of preparation of some remedies which had been, until that time, unknown:

It consists of the following ingredients: Vermilion; powdered snakeroot (Polygala senega, L.); exiguam particulam sanguinis a puella effusi, quum in primis menstruis esset; and a piece of ginseng cut from the bifurcation of the root, and powdered. These are mixed and put into a small buckskin bag. The preparation is undertaken only after an offering to Ki′tshi Ma′nido of tobacco and a Midē′ song with rattle accompaniment.

This preparation is not employed as that previously mentioned by Reverend Peter Jones, nor even as that used by the Menomini, as will now be explained.

During a recent visit to one of the reservations in Minnesota, I had occasion to confer with a Catholic missionary regarding some of the

[1] History of the Ojebway Indians, London [1861], p. 155.

[2] Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 258.

peculiar medical practices of the Indians, and the implements and other accessories employed in connection with their profession. He related the following incident as having, but a short time previously, come under his personal observation:

One of the members of his church, a Norwegian, 62 years of age, and a widower, had for the last preceding year been considered by most of the residents as demented. The missionary himself had observed his erratic and frequently irrational conduct, and was impressed with the probable truth of the prevailing rumor. One morning, however, as the missionary was seated in his study, he was surprised at receiving a very early call, and upon invitation his visitor took a seat and explained the object of his visit. He said that for a year he had been so disturbed in his peace of mind that he now came to seek advice. He was fully aware of the common report respecting his conduct, but was utterly unable to control himself, and attributed the cause of his unfortunate condition to an occurrence of the year before. On waking one morning his thoughts were unwillingly concentrated on an Indian woman with whom he had no personal acquaintance whatever, and, notwithstanding the absurdity of the impression, he was unable to cast it aside. After breakfast he was, by some inexplicable influence, compelled to call upon her, and to introduce himself, and although he expected to be able to avoid repeating the visit, he never had sufficient control over himself to resist lurking in the vicinity of her habitation.

On his return home, after the first visit, he discovered lying upon the floor under his bed a midē′ sack, which contained some small parcels with which he was unfamiliar, but was afterward told that one of them consisted of "love powder." He stated that he had grown children, and the idea of marrying again was out of the question, not only on their account but because he was now too old. The missionary reasoned with him and suggested a course of procedure, the result of which had not been learned when the incident was related.

The Menomini love powder, termed takosa′wos, "the powder that causes people to love one another," is composed of vermilion and mica laminæ, ground very fine and put into a thimble which is carried suspended from the neck or from some part of the wearing apparel. It is necessary, however, to secure from the one whose affection is desired a hair, a finger paring, or some small scrap of clothing, which must also be put into the thimble. The thimble has a small orifice at the top through which passes a cord for attaching it to the neck, while the bottom is securely closed by means of a block of wood, some pine resin, or some other substance. Figure 22 represents a charm of this character. It is also decorated with a few hairs of some animal and a small hawk feather. In former times, it is affirmed, the composition of the powder was similar to that made by the Ojibwa of Minnesota, the most desirable ingredient having always to be obtained through the intermediary of some old medicine woman.

The wâ′beno′ak sometimes profess the ability to furnish medicine to aid the hunter in finding and securing game, though such pretensions are made equally by the tshi′saqka. To be able to furnish the desired information, for which a fee as well as part of the game secured are necessary, the wâ′beno familiarizes himself with the topography and characteristics of a wide area, in order to ascertain the best feeding grounds of the various animals and their haunts at various seasons. He keeps himself informed also by careful inquiry of returning hunters, and thus becomes possessed of a body of valuable information respecting the natural history of the surrounding country, by which means he can with a tolerable amount of certainty direct a hunter to the best localities for such varieties of game as may be particularly desired by him.

FIG. 22—Thimble charm containing love powder.

It is claimed that in former times the wâ′beno was much more highly regarded than at present, but that now the number of these individuals has been reduced to two or three within the entire tribe, in consequence of which gradual reduction, faith in their pretensions has become weakened, and with apparent good reason. The tshi′saqka is more respected, and consequently more feared, than the wâ′beno, although the mitä′wok greatly outrank in numbers these classes of shamans.

The reason that the wâ′beno′ak in former times were admitted to be more powerful than the mitä′wok is explained in the following myth, related to me by Shu′nien, and entitled "The contest between the mitä′ᵛ and the wâ′beno":

There was a mitä′ᵛ who considered himself the chief of all the mitä′wok, and was therefore the most powerful man on earth. But the leader of the wâ′beno′ak claimed that he himself was the more powerful of the two; so, after an angry altercation, the mitä′ᵛ challenged the wâ′beno—morning or daylight—to meet him, in order to see which could destroy the other. So the two agreed to meet in the spring, and during the whole winter each was engaged in preparing for the coming encounter.

Finally, the day was set when this contest of strength and power should be decided, and the mitä' built a long medicine wigwam, or mitä wikō'mik, extending east-and-west. The mitä'' and his friends were the first to arrive, and, entering the wigwam, the chief mitä'' marched in the eastern door and seated his companions at the northern side.

The wā'beno was the last to arrive, but he was accompanied by his prophet, followed by the Akui kika'—"he who draws out arrows"—and following the latter came the rest of the wā'beno'ak, friends of the wā'beno contestant. The mitä'wok were all painted with red paint from the chin up to the top of the forehead, whereas the wā'beno'ak had their faces covered with red paint from the line of the nostrils downward to the breast.

When the wā'beno entered the eastern door, at the head of the procession of his friends, he held before him a wā'beno drum, tapping it and singing, and each time he struck it there issued tiny, magic arrows, which were directed toward the mitä'wok. To ward off these fatal missiles the mitä'wok held out the palms of their hands. The wā'beno walked around the interior of the mitä'wikōmik several times, going westward on the northern side and returning on the side opposite. Finally, the wā'beno'ak seated themselves, when the mitä'' began to drum, saying to the wā'beno, "You challenged me to a contest of skill and power; now go to work and do your best." To this the wā'beno replied, "No, you challenged me; you began the trouble; now begin your work." The mitä'' then arose and said to the people on the outside, who were at each end of the wigwam, "My friends, go away from the opening of the wigwam, and stand at the sides; you might become the victims of evil ma'nidos by standing in the way." So the people hurried away from the openings at the eastern and western ends of the wigwam, and took places on the northern and southern sides, where they could watch the contest.

The wā'beno, who took his place at the western end of the wigwam, placed his drum before his breast, and said to the mitä'': "Now, come and try your power; I shall not resist your attempts, but will show you that any power you may possess and direct at me will fail when it reaches my drum, for nothing can penetrate it." The mitä'' then went to the eastern end of the wigwam, and grasping his medicine sack held it as if holding a gun when charging; then he slowly danced forward toward the wā'beno, with the bag directed at his breast, and sang the words ho', ho', ho', ho', in imitation of the sound made by the Bear ma'nido. He next advanced to within a short distance of the wā'beno, when the mitä'' thrust the bag forward, shooting from it his magic konä'pamik, consisting of a bear's claw, which crushed through the drum and into the wā'beno's breast, striking him senseless.

The wā'beno lay outstretched on the ground. The prophet, the first of the wā'beno's companions, came forward, and, placing his finger

on the wound, located the konä′pamik. Calling to the second friend of the wâ′beno, the first companion said, "Akui′kikaᵛ, come, draw out the magic bullet; it will kill the wâ′beno if you do not hasten." Then the arrow drawer approached the body of the wâ′beno, and, stooping over it, reached toward the wound. With a vigorous gesture he pulled out the bear's claw, whereupon the wâ′beno jumped up well as before.

The wâ′beno now said to the mitä′ᵛ, "You see, I made no attempt to destroy you, but allowed you to try to kill me. Now, take care, for I am going to exercise my powers." The mitä′ᵛ went to the eastern end of the wigwam, and the wâ′beno began slowly to approach him, drumming upon the little wâ′beno drum until he got very close to the mitä′ᵛ. The wâ′beno had turned his drum upside down and was drumming upon the bottom, during which time the spirit arrows could be seen to fly from the drum at each stroke. Presently the wâ′beno gave the drum a hard stroke, and a magic arrow darted forward striking and entering the mitä′ᵛ's forehead, when he fell to the ground apparently dead.

The mitä′wok were alarmed, but the wâ′beno called his chief assistant, the prophet, and said, "Place your finger on the wound that he may not die; I want merely to show him that I am more powerful than he." The prophet came and put his finger on the wound in the forehead of the mitä′ᵛ. The wâ′beno then told Akui′kikaᵛ to come and extract the mystery arrow. So soon as the arrow was pulled from the wound, the mitä′ᵛ arose, when the wâ′beno said to him, "You see now that I am more powerful than you; and had I so desired I could have left you lying here dead. I am more powerful, for I am the chief of those who receive their power from Wâ′benona′sĭĕ—Mystery of the Dawn!"

The mitä′ᵛ then admitted that he had been in error, saying, "I had always been led to think that the mitä′wok were the more powerful, but now I know that the wâ′beno′ak are more powerful."

The mitä′ᵛ then went out to his own wigwam, gathered up all his goods and killed a little dog which he had prized very much, and, returning to the wigwam occupied by the mitä′wok and the wâ′beno′ak, laid upon the ground before the wâ′beno the goods and the carcass of the dog, saying, "Here are gifts for restoring me to life. I wish to retain your friendship, so accept them." The wâ′beno received the gifts, and soon both the mitä′ᵛ and the wâ′beno left, each going to his respective wigwam.

THE DREAMERS

The fourth class of shamans are termed the Ne′moak, literally "the dance," commonly designated "The Dreamers." This society became known to the Menomini in the autumn of 1880, through the Potawatomi of the Prairie, or those living in Indian territory and Kansas.

It is asserted by the Menomini that Kishä′ Ma′nido became angered at the Indians because the old customs and ceremonials of the Mitä′wit

became corrupted, and that, desiring to give to the Indians a purer ritual and religious observance, Kishä' Ma'nido gave to them the "dance."

There are three localities in the neighborhood of Keshena where meetings are held for the exercises and the promulgation of the doctrines entertained.

The accompanying illustration (figure 23) represents the form of the inclosure in which the meetings are held. The structure consists of a low fence of boards, not more than 2½ feet high, around the interior of which are arranged other boards placed against the wall to serve as benches. At the eastern and western sides are spaces for entrance and exit. The diameter of the circle averages about 50 feet, the size depending on the number of members any given community may contain.

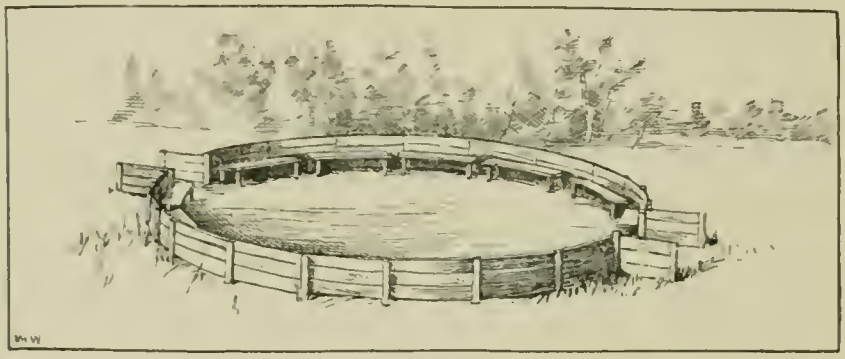


FIG. 23—Dancing place of the Dreamers.

When a meeting is to be held, the chief, or okwē'maŭ, informs the four nä'nauwĕ'qtawok, or braves, of the fact, who then carry the intelligence to all the members.

When entering the inclosure for a meeting, they all march in at the western door, pass around on the left hand, and continue until their proper stations are reached, when they become seated (figure 24). The pipe is lighted and passed four times, after which the chief of the braves stations himself at one side of the western door, and an appointed old man at the other side, after which no one is permitted to leave, unless by permission of the okwē'maŭ, or otherwise, as hereafter mentioned. The os'kabai'wīs, or messenger, seated to the left of the braves, may leave at any time, as he is obliged to keep the gathering supplied with food, water, or anything else that may be required. The uq'puokan'inä'nīŭ, or "pipe man," the attendant to the musicians, also has power to leave whenever necessary, but he can not extend this privilege to any other.

After the four ceremonial smokes have been indulged in, no one can leave the inclosure, as two members guard the western entrance, unless

permission to depart be given by the chief of the musicians (14). Should the latter go out first, however, a person previously requesting permission to leave the inclosure may follow him.

When the first song is finished, the orator is called on by the four braves to preach. In case he should decline, he must make known his reason for so doing to one of the four braves, one of whom then delivers an address. If a particularly forceful address is demanded or required, the chief (1) himself speaks.

If an objectionable person enters, the chief drummer carries the drum out at the eastern entrance. This is a signal that the meeting is dissolved. After the completion of the service, all depart from the western door

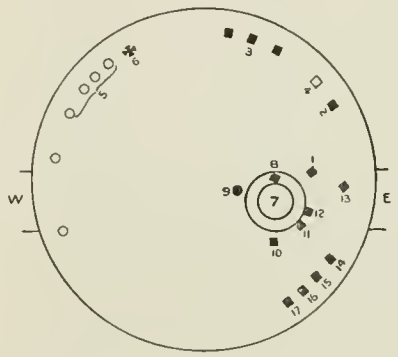


FIG. 24—Diagram of the Dreamers' dancing place.

1. Okwē'maŭ, chief of Ne'moak and keeper of the drum. 2. Ke'kitoina'nĭŭ, orator or "speaking man." 3. Boys who are members or candidates for membership. 4. Oski'nauwä'ŭokwē'maŭ, "young-boy-chief," leader of boys. 5. Nä'nauwē'qtawok, four "braves." 6. O'skabai'wĭs, "messenger" to braves; the brave seated next to the messenger is called Missu'akan, "Wounded leg." 7. The Drum society owns two sets, one (3 pieces) called okwē'maŭ täwäq'ikanŏk', "chiefs' drums," and nä'nauwē'qtawok täwäq'ikanŏk, "braves' drums" (2 pieces). 8, 9, 10, 11, musicians; (No. 8 is called miau'nika'mo inä'nĭŭ', "principal singer"). 12. Okwē'maŭ opi'kishi'ka', one who dried the drum; the drum cover is wet, and he is supposed to dry it by drumming. 13. Uq'puokan' inä'nĭŭ', "pipe man;" attendant to singers who keeps the musicians supplied; the assistants sit between the chief musicians, 8–11, and around, behind them, is a circle of women singers (14–17). 14, 15, 16, 17, chiefs of women musicians; the last (17) is called Missu'akan, "Wounded drum leg;" also termed Mussu'akanoq kátapē'ta, "Wounded (drum) leg," who sits by it; as the drum is supposed to rest on four legs the name is only an illusion.

The keeper of the drum resided near the Dreamers' dancing inclosure, and had suspended the inclosed drum in the northeast corner of the only room in the house, as shown in figure 25.

Beneath the drum was placed a large rush mat, while behind it, near the corner, was a box containing the drumstick, medicine pouch—as the owner was also a mitä'—and other mysterious or sacred objects. Upon the mat was deposited a silk handkerchief, on the rear portion of which was placed the ceremonial pipe of catlinite with an ash-wood stem. Before the pipe was a saucer containing tobacco and a box with a quantity of matches stuck into it. The place of the drum and pipe was never approached unless for the purpose of making a smoke offer-

ing in company with a visiting member of the society or when the sacred articles were removed to the dancing arena.

The Reverend Clay MacCauley, late of Washington, District of Columbia, delivered a lecture before the Tokyo (Japan) conference on the 9th of March, 1893,[1] in which he related his experience of a visit to the Menomini Indians at Keshena, Wisconsin, about twelve years previously, for the purpose of gathering information in connection with the federal census of 1880. Mr MacCauley gives a description of the meeting place of the Dreamers, the same dancing ground as above described, and a subsequent conversation with Mat'sikinē'nᵉ (Bad Eagle) as to the doctrine of the advocates. This Indian long since left the society and is now a convert to Christianity. The explanation generally is in accord with what the members now believe, though some portions bear strong suggestions of the personal feeling of the interpreter rather than of the opinion of the rest of the common members of the society.

FIG. 25.—Place of the drum.

After relating superficially what he witnessed during a brief visit to the ceremonies, Mr MacCauley says:

> I have told you of the Dreamers just as I saw them. The members of the league were evidently thoroughly, even fanatically, in earnest. That was clear. But what did they believe; what did they teach; what was their aim? I could not tell, and many had assured me they meant ill. The day following, I therefore sent for Metchikeni to interpret for me what I had seen. . . . Here is the interpretation of the Dreamers' ceremonies and statement of their doctrines, as Metchikeni gave them to me. . . . "If I thought that our dance was a step backward, I would have nothing to do with it; neither would Niopet. . . . We are dressed in the old dress of our fathers, and we sing and dance; but I have been in the theater in Washington and have seen the white men do about the same things, with no one to blame them.

[1] Published in the Japan Daily Mail of March 21, 1893.

These things are not necessary, I know, and by and by we may drop them. We do not take the young men from their work. We dance the dance only six times in the year. You ask me who we are. I will tell you the truth. Not many years ago, in the West, when some Indians were at war, while they were fighting, a woman fled from them to save her life. As she ran she lost her way and fell into the water of a river. But she did not die. She lay in the water asleep many days—eight days and nights. All this time she dreamed and saw wonderful sights of beauty and peace. At the end of eight days she heard a voice calling to her to rise up; then some power lifted her out of the water and made her well and strong. She knew that the Great Spirit had brought her back to the world. And this the Great Spirit told her: 'Go at once to your people and tell them to stop their war and to become friends with one another and with the white man. They will hear you and will believe you, and you and they must spread my words among all Indians. Do you see the sky, how it is round?' continued the divine voice. 'Go, then, and tell your people to make a circle on the ground just like the round sky. Call that holy ground. Go there, and with a big drum in the center, sing and dance and pray to me, and speak my words. And when you speak, say always these things: "You are all children of one Father, and are brothers. You must live in peace with one another. You must not drink intoxicating drink. You must always speak the truth. If you are struck, you must count the blow as nothing and not strike back again." Do these things and all Indians and white men will soon be prosperous and at peace and happy. You will all have one heart.' Now, that is what our dance is for. We teach these words of the Great Spirit. You saw a sick girl carried into our holy place. She was carried there that there we might pray to the Great Spirit to make her well. We have no medicine dance. We hope with our dance to break up by and by the old medicine dance, and all such things. So we teach. You saw the flag above us. That is to show that we are friends of the Great Father. You saw some men dancing and acting as though they were firing off guns, hunting, and running hard. They show that some of us helped the Great Father in the big war, and are ready to help him again. . . . We lifted our hands to the sky; that was for prayer. We held out our hands, palms upward; that was to receive the answers to our prayers. We scattered from our hands to the ground; that was to show that we give what we receive. You saw us all give presents to one another; that was to show that we are brothers, and that brothers must help brothers. . . . But that ground is holy while we are there with the Great Spirit, and the dog is not clean. He may not live if he comes onto the ground. We have three watchmen to keep all away, but sometimes they will get in, and then there is no help for them. If our friend could only have understood our speeches he would know that we are trying to do well. We do not take the young men from their work. We try to help them to work better. If I had a flag of my own I should want to have painted on it a picture of a plow and over that my totem, the eagle. This flag I should like to see always waving over our dance. I want all my children to go to school to learn just what white men know. . . . We are doing the best we can. I am sorry that there are some here who wish to do us harm and would make trouble for us if they could."

. . My general conclusion, however, is that the Dreamers, if the Menomini branch of the league may be accepted as representative, are religious enthusiasts, somewhat fanatic in their enthusiasm, devoted to a strange admixture of pagan ritual, monolatory, or degenerate Christian theology and Christian ethics.

MYTHOLOGY

FORMER CONDITION OF THE MYTHS

The following myths were obtained from Shu'nien and Nio'pet, two of the better informed men of the tribe. The subjects pertain to the exploits and adventures of Mä'näbŭsh, but do not come within the

scope of the ritual of the Mitä′wit, although some of the older mitä′wok believe that at some time in the past they were part of the instruction given to the candidate. There appears to have been a time, according to both the Ojibwa and Menomini Indians, when Mä′näbŭsh became degraded on account of his foolish actions. In the Ottawa dialect Mä′näbŭsh signifies a "foolish fellow," because of the ridiculous performances of this demigod previous to his final departure from the Indian country.[1]

Some of these myths will be recognized as having, at some time in the past, formed part of the cosmogonic ritual of the Menomini, but when and how they became separated and so altered as to have lost their reverential character it is impossible even to surmise.

THE TRAVELS OF MÄ′NÄBŬSH

When Mä′näbŭsh had completed the erection of the mitä′wikŏ′mik, and had made the presentation to his uncles of the mysteries of the Mitä′wit, he decided to go on a journey to visit his brothers (some of the mitä′wok who had been so constituted by him), because there were many evil ma′nidos, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who were constantly endeavoring to destroy them.

The following is a translation of the myth given by Shu′nien:

One time after a long journey Mä′näbŭsh thought he heard some singing, and thinking there were some people having a dance, he went forward and soon beheld a multitude of dancers, greatly interested in their ceremony. He saw the headfeathers moving about in every direction, but as it was late in the evening he could not distinguish those about him. Receiving no friendly greeting from anyone, he said, "My brothers, I have come to join you in the dance," but he had scarcely uttered these words when he heard some one derisively laughing at him. The same voice then spoke, "We have fooled Mä′näbŭsh," whereupon he knew that some of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ were the authors of the deception and that he had mistaken the tall reeds with feathery plumes for well-clad warriors with eagle-feather headdresses.

When Mä′näbŭsh looked about and saw how he had been deceived, he was very angry; so he said to the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, "That is all well for you, but I shall remember this occurrence." He left the place and continued to walk for a long time, when he again heard the sounds of music and dancing. Approaching near enough to see that he was not deceived a second time, he observed a large number of birds, of many kinds, dancing round in a circle. Mä′näbŭsh said to them, "My brothers, I have brought some songs with me, and will sing for you while you dance, but you must all keep your eyes closed as you dance, for otherwise it will not be so enjoyable." The birds began to dance, and as one would come within easy reach of Mä′näbŭsh he would

[1] According to verbal information received from Mr A. J. Blackbird, an educated Ottawa chief and interpreter of Michigan.

grasp it by the neck, so as to prevent its crying out, and twist off its head. In this way he secured four birds; but one, not hearing the voices of his friends, opened his eyes, notwithstanding the advice of Mä′näbŭsh, and beheld the bodies of four of the dancers lying on the ground at the feet of Mä′näbŭsh. When the bird saw this, he flew up and cried out, "My brothers, Mä′näbŭsh is killing our friends; fly, or we shall all be destroyed!" This bird was a Duck, and his wings made a great noise as he rose into the air, which instantly startled the rest, so that they escaped. Mä′näbŭsh called to the Duck, and said, "For your disobedience you shall always have red eyes." And to this day the rings around the eyes of this bird are red.

After the long journey which Mä′näbŭsh had made, and the exertion which he had undergone while singing for the dancers, he had become very hungry; so he immediately gathered together enough wood to make a large fire to cook his birds. He buried the bodies in a sandy spot on the bank of the stream near by, leaving the legs exposed so that he could find the birds when baked. Over these he built the fire, and to rest himself he laid down near the fire, placing his buttocks toward it. He said to his own buttocks, "You must not go to sleep while I do so, but must watch that no one comes to rob me of my feast." Then Mä′näbŭsh fell asleep, confident that, when he had rested, he would awaken to find the birds ready to eat.

Now, it chanced that two Winnebago, who had been out hunting, came by the place where Mä′näbŭsh was sleeping, and, seeing smoke, approached, under cover of the bushes, to see what caused the fire. They soon beheld some one asleep near by, and, going still closer, saw that it was Mä′näbŭsh preparing a feast. Then one of the Winnebago said to the other, "It is Mä′näbŭsh, and he has prepared a feast; let us go and eat it while he is asleep." The other agreed, so, going to the fire and beholding the feet of the birds protruding from the sand, they pulled them out. The birds were eaten, and when the Winnebago were ready to leave, they placed the legs back into the ground, in order to make it appear that they had not been disturbed.

After a long sleep Mä′näbŭsh awoke, and thinking the birds had by this time become cooked, he pulled up the first pair of legs, but found nothing attached to them. Not knowing what to make of this, unless the bird had become overcooked, he dug into the sand, but the body had gone. Then he pulled out the second pair of legs, but, finding that the body to which they belonged had also disappeared, he became very much alarmed. He pulled out the third pair of legs with the same result as before, so he hurried to the fourth pair, only to discover that all his birds had been devoured by some one. Then Mä′näbŭsh threw up his hands in distress and cried, "Ah! I have been robbed of my feast: who could have done this?" Looking about in every direction he failed to learn anything of the thieves who had plundered him during his sleep. Then Mä′näbŭsh slapped his buttocks and asked, "Who robbed me of

my feast? Did I not tell you to watch while I slept? Some one has robbed me of my birds and I am now unable to appease my hunger." Then, to punish his buttocks for their carelessness, he sat down against the fire to scorch them; but finding that the heat reached his legs and back, he went away from the fire, though not before burning himself so severely that he had to travel by means of two sticks. He limped along as well as he could from the place where he had slept, and after awhile saw a Mink crossing the path which he was following. The Mink had a long tail, to which were attached many small bells of shell which jingled at every step. Mä'näbŭsh said to the Mink, "My brother, you have a long tail with many ornaments on it; would you object to telling me where you got those beautiful shells, and if I might get some likewise?" "No, Mä'näbŭsh," said the Mink, "I do not object to telling you where I got my bells, and I will show you how you may obtain some. I cut these from my body, from the back of my buttocks."

Mä'näbŭsh then asked the Mink to take a knife and cut some from his body that he also might ornament a tail and hang it to his back. The Mink, in compliance with the request of Mä'näbŭsh, cut away a number of slices of flesh from his buttocks and, handing the pieces to Mä'näbŭsh, the latter tied them to a tail of buckskin and fastened them to his back; but every time Mä'näbŭsh attempted to walk it hurt him, because the exertion caused the cut flesh to move. Mä'näbŭsh went along slowly for a short distance, when, happening to look back at his trailing tail, he saw that the Mink had cut away so much flesh that his entrails were dragging along the ground. Gathering his entrails together, he threw them up into the air so that they fell upon a tree; then he said, "Now, you remain there and become food for the people." The vines are still found clinging to the trees, and people even now cut them in pieces and boil them to eat, for they are very good.

The rough skin which had been caused by the scorching of Män'ä-bŭsh's buttocks gave him much inconvenience. He went forward until he reached a rocky hilltop, where he crawled and slid around among the rocks in order to slip the roughened cuticle from his body, just as a snake casts its skin. Then he said to the old skin, "There, you remain here and become food for the people." Pieces of the skin of Mä'näbŭsh are found hanging to the rocks even to this day.

Mä'näbŭsh, resuming his journey, came to a river, down the bank of which he went to get a drink. While stooping over he saw fruit in the water, and being very fond of it, for it was wild cherries, he dived into the water, but it being shallow he struck the bottom, hurting himself very much. Disappointed and bruised, he went to the top of the bank, where he laid down upon his back. While in this position he looked toward the sky and saw among the branches of the trees the wild cherries which he had before thought were down in the water. So soon as he had rested from his journey and his body became less painful, he crawled up into the tree and ate all the cherries he desired.

Mä′näbŭsh continued his journey. Looking about him he perceived Pä′skosē—the Buzzard—flying high in the air. Then said Mä′näbŭsh to himself, "If I could only fly like Pä′skosē, how I should enjoy looking down to behold the earth." While thus meditating he moved his arms as if flying, and Pä′skosē, seeing him, soared down. Mä′näbŭsh then said to Pä′skosē, "I should like to be able to fly as you do; to soar away through the sky and look down upon the earth to see what everybody is doing there."

Pä′skosē laughed and replied, "You can not fly, Mä′näbŭsh, even by moving your arms like that. What would you do if you could fly?"

Mä′näbŭsh responded, saying, "I would then transport myself much quicker than I do in the way I am obliged to travel. Take me up, my brother, and let me see how the earth appears from up in the sky."

Pä′skosē then told Mä′näbŭsh to get upon his back, which he did, and, securely holding on to Pä′skosē, the latter flew far into the air. He flew to the top of a very high mountain peak with precipitous sides, where Mä′näbŭsh alighted to look about. Then Pä′skosē flew away, leaving Mä′näbŭsh in a very dangerous place. Mä′näbŭsh looked for some way to descend from the peak, but, finding none, he decided to leap down; so, taking a jump forward to clear the rock, he descended toward the earth like an arrow.

It happened that Mä′näbŭsh reached the earth near a camp of his people, but fell into a hollow tree, from which he was unable to extricate himself. Here he was held a prisoner for four days, when some women, coming from the camp in search of wood, found the large dead tree in which Mä′näbŭsh happened to be a prisoner. One of the women, on seeing the tree, said, "Here is some dry timber; let us cut it down." Then Mä′näbŭsh, hearing that help was at hand, and desiring to avoid alarming the women by speaking to them, imitated a porcupine by crying, yä hē′, yä hē′, yä hē′, yä hē! The women, thinking they had discovered a porcupine, immediately set to work to fell the tree; but as Mä′näbŭsh, after the tree had fallen, was afraid they might cut into it again and wound him, he said to the one with the ax, "Cut a small opening into the trunk, and let me show you how many beautiful colored quills I shall give you." The woman did so, being careful not to cut too large an opening; then Mä′näbŭsh again spoke to the woman and told her to take off her skirt and cover the opening in the tree until he could put out the quills where she could get them. She took off her skirt and placed it over the opening, when Mä′näbŭsh hastily crawled out and ran away laughing.

Mä′näbŭsh was glad to escape from these women, so he hurried away toward the north where eight other women lived. The first was called Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis ("she who governs"); the second Ki′skapanuq′kĭu ("early dawn"); the third Pa′shapanoq′kiu ("the yellow streak of cloudy vapor of the dawn"); the fourth Kashki′qkapan ("the dark haze at the horizon"); and the eighth was called Osa′wapano′qkĭu[v]

("the green tint seen at early dawn"). They were sisters, but Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis and Pa'shapanoq'kiu were women of evil disposition, while Ki'skpanuq'kĭu and Kashki'qkapan were well disposed and friendly to everybody. Osa'wapano'qkĭu^{v} was the wife of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}.

Mä'näbŭsh reached a wigwam occupied by a woman, who was the sister of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, and, as he was very hungry, he asked her to give him something to eat. She prepared him food, and, being welcomed by the woman, Mä'näbŭsh decided to remain there for some time.

Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} also returned to his sister's wigwam, and one morning he flew away to get some food. He went far to the north and found a large bare place where some people were running and playing ball. Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} knew that he was a good runner; so he went to the edge of a lake, put down a martin which he had caught, and said to the ball players: "My brothers, you see the sun is shining upon the forehead of this martin—upon this spot, exactly between the eyes. By the time I run around this lake the sun will not have had time to travel from that spot to the corner of the eye."

"Hau," said all the players, because they were anxious to see an apparently impossible feat accomplished.

Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} started to run, and by the time he had made the circuit of the lake and returned to the martin the sun had scarcely moved from the spot indicated upon the martin's forehead. Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis approached to see who the runner really was, and as she came close to him she suspected some trickery, so she raised the leggins of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} and exposed his shin bone.

"O, it is Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}," cried she; "I know who you are now!"

"The ball players wanted him to join them, but he said, "No, I will come again to play with you," and with that he grasped up his martin and flew away to his sister's wigwam.

Now, the sister of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} was the one who governed all the birds, and she knew the treacherous character of the people of the camp ruled by Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis; so she said, "My brother, do not go to that camp any more; the people of Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis eat people who are not of their kind, and they will surely devour you." Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, however, made no reply, but next morning started to fly back to the place where the ball game was to be played, but this time he did not take the martin with him. When he arrived at the camp of Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis it was nearly night, and no ball players were in sight. Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis came forward, and, grasping Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, held him fast, saying, "Remain with us tonight, brother, and in the morning I will give you a feast." Then Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis went out and caught the Kinĕ'u^{v} (golden eagle), the Buzzard, and the Pinäsh'iu (bald eagle). These with Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} she took to her wigwam, where they found four old men lying upon a mat made of rushes.

Early next morning Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis started out to seek food for her guests, as she said, but the four men, the birds, suspecting some-

thing wrong in her curious behavior, followed her. She ran so fast that her pursuers were soon left far in the rear. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew into the air and saw Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis far in advance, and still running rapidly. Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew forward, passing the woman, and finding a log lying across the path by which she was to pass, he laid himself down behind it and awaited her arrival. When she approached the log and attempted to leap across it, Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} caught her and, with his bow, struck her across the legs until she cried out frantically for him not to beat her, as she was only going to get him and his friends something to eat.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} looked back for his friends and the other people who were following (for the sisters of Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis were also in the throng), but they were so far behind that he compelled Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis to open a bag which she had with her, take out a piece of buckskin, and place four little sticks at the corners. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} took out of his quiver an arrow, which he cut into short pieces, and which in turn were transformed into tobacco. He lighted each stick by means of these, when the buckskin began to shrink from the heat, thus shortening the distance between the spot where Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis and Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} were and the place where their followers were still running along. The latter soon came up, and Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis gave them a feast.

When Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and his friends awoke next morning they found that Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis had again run away from them. They started in pursuit, but could not overtake her, so Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} again flew into the air to see where the woman was. He espied her far ahead of them—so far that she seemed like a mere speck. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew forward and ahead of her to a hillside, where he lay in wait. When Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis came up to where Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was awaiting her arrival, he grasped her by the arm and with his bow beat her severely about the legs. Again she screamed, and said, "I am only going ahead to get something for you to eat. You see that mountain stretching away to the east and west; that is where my father abides; it is his wigwam. We will now go on and visit him, and his daughter will get some food ready."

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} seemed satisfied with this explanation, but awaited the arrival of his friends and her sisters, all of whom were still far behind, but were running as rapidly as ever. When they came up to the hillside where Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was awaiting them, they prepared beds of boughs and leaves, and lay down to sleep.

Early the next morning the party went forward together, and as they approached the mountain in which the father of Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis lived, the side opened and they entered. Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} saw the old man seated opposite the entrance of the wigwam, and observed that his breechcloth consisted of the skin of a wildcat. The old man doffed this garment and threw it at Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, and as it flew through the

air like a knife it assumed life. Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ struck the flying animal upon the head, bringing it to the ground; then, picking it up and throwing it back to the old man, he said, "Here, old man, is your breechcloth; do you expect that you can harm me with a piece of wildcat skin?" The old man became infuriated and threw the cloth a second time, hoping by this means to cleave the skull of Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ, but Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ again struck it to the ground, after which he picked it up and threw it across the room to the old man, this time saying, "Here, old man, keep your breechcloth; you can do me no harm."

The old man was one of the ânâ′maqkī′ñ, who dwell under the ground, and who are the enemy of mankind. But he found that Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ was a very powerful being and was afraid to attempt openly to destroy him.

Finally the old man said, "My daughter has prepared a feast for you; so take seats and the food will be brought out."

Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ and the Buzzard were requested to eat before the old man, and, while each of the guests received a bowl of food, Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ found that his dish held nothing but a mass of eyeballs taken from the victims which the old man had destroyed. Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ then pushed the dish toward the old man, saying, "Here, old man, I do not care for this dish; I am not accustomed to eating human flesh, especially eyeballs, so you take them." The old man received the dish, but left it by his side untasted.

Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ then remarked upon the good looks of the old man's daughter—the youngest one, who remained at home and who attended to his wants. To this the old man replied, "Whoever is able to jump across my wigwam may have her for his wife."

Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ then said, "I am able to jump across your wigwam, so we will go outside."

They all went to the outside of the mountain, when Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ leaped into the air and jumped across the mountain without any difficulty; whereupon the old man said to Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ, "You have won the girl; take her."

The old man did this so that he might gain more power over Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ in order to destroy him, but his first wife, who was also a daughter of the old man, remained with Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ, so as to guard him against danger.

The new young wife then said to Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ, "Let us visit my mother; she lives on the top of a steep rock, and will be glad to see my husband." So they all left the abode of the old man and started off to visit his wife, the mother of Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ's wives. After a long journey they saw in the distance a high rock, upon which was perched a solitary wigwam covered with rush mats. When they arrived at the base of the rock, the young wife called out to her mother, "Mother, let down your ladder, so that we may come up to visit you." The old woman then let down a ladder and told them to ascend, after which

the ladder was again pulled up, so that they might not be taken by surprise.

The wigwam was well provided with everything that was necessary for comfort, and food seemed abundant. The visitors had not been many days at the old woman's wigwam before the latter began to complain of feeling ill. This was feigned, however, for her plan was to devise some means of bringing about the destruction of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and his friends, the Buzzard, Kinĕ′u^{v}, and Pinäsh′iu. The younger wife of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} then said to the old woman, "Mother, what can we do for you to make you well again?"—to which the old woman replied, "If I had the paw of a white bear to eat I would recover, but I fear that such can not be procured for me." To this Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} responded, saying, "The paw of a white bear is easily procured, and I will get one;" whereupon he left the wigwam and flew away to search for a white bear.

Now, the old woman had no idea that Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} would be successful in procuring the paw of a white bear, because such was to be found only upon some of her kindred, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, the evil ma′nidos of the underworld, and she was also aware that anyone who might attack a white bear would be killed unless he was more powerful than the bear ma′nido. For this reason she had demanded something which she considered impossible to obtain, and if Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} attempted to comply with her request she might cause his destruction very easily.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, soaring through the air at great height, perceived the object of his search. Pulling an arrow out of his quiver, he fixed it to the string of his bow, and shot it down into the body of the white bear, killing him. He then descended, cut off the paw of the animal, and returned with it to the old woman's wigwam. When he entered, she said to Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, in a very faint voice, "Did you get me the paw of the white bear, son-in-law?"—to which he replied, "Yes; I got it," and, throwing it across to where she was lying upon a mat, said, "Here it is; I hope you will get well, now."

The younger daughter prepared the paw for the old woman and gave it to her to eat, but the mother did not appear to derive any benefit from the food. Then, seeing her mother continue ill as before, she said, "Mother, is there anything else that you wish to eat to make you well?" To this the old woman replied, "Yes; I should get well if I had the paw of a yellow bear to eat." Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, hearing the words of the old woman, now said, "If that be all, I can soon bring you the paw of a yellow bear;" whereupon he left the wigwam and flew away in search of that animal.

The old woman thought that this demand would certainly bring about the destruction of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, as the yellow bear also was one of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and even a more powerful ma′nido than the white bear.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} soon descried a yellow bear. Drawing an arrow from his quiver and placing it to the string of his bow, he shot it down

into the body of the yellow bear, killing him instantly. He then severed one of the paws and carried it back to the old woman's wigwam, on entering which he threw the paw toward the old woman, saying, "Here is the paw of the yellow bear which you desired in order that you might recover; now use it." The old woman made no response to this, but bade the younger wife of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} prepare the paw for her that she might eat it. She was aware by this time that Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was more powerful than she was, and while devising some plan by which she could yet bring about his destruction, Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} complained that he himself was sick. This was only a ruse on his part which had been suggested by his elder wife, who did not wish Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} harmed.

After the old woman had eaten the paw of the yellow bear, she asked her daughters where Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was, and was told that he was lying down and complained of being very ill. The old woman was alarmed lest her victim might escape her plans of destruction, and, desiring to preserve him for her own vengeance, asked him what he required to help his recovery.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}'s elder wife whispered to him to make a request of the old woman for something difficult of fulfillment; so he responded, "I have at my sister's wigwam some birds, and there are among them some maqkwa′nine′ŭk (red birds) which, if I could get to eat, would bring about my recovery." The old woman had a headband and breechcloth made of fox skins, which enabled her to travel with great speed, so when she heard the wish of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and realized the great distance she had to travel to get the birds, she was not dismayed, but said, "Grandson, I shall go for the birds which you require," and hastened to prepare for the journey. She called to her daughters and said, "Put down the ladder that I may descend, and so soon as you see me touch the earth below, draw it up that no one may molest you during my absence." They then put down the ladder and the old woman descended, and as soon as they could see her running away over the earth below, they pulled up the ladder, as they had been directed, and returned to the wigwam.

The old woman had a long journey before her, but her speed was great, and she traveled along day after day until she approached the wigwam in which dwelt the sister of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}. When the old woman approached near enough to the wigwam to observe the nature of the surroundings, she saw on one side of the wigwam a tall post upon which was perched a nest containing the red birds. On the other side of the wigwam she saw the sister of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} combing her hair. Desiring not to be discovered, she quietly approached the pole upon which the nest was built and began slowly to climb it. The movement of the tree disturbed the birds, when they began to cry out in alarm. The sister of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, hearing something unusual going on, went around the wigwam where she could see the nest, and discov-

ered the old woman about to rob her of her brother's birds. She thereupon ran into the wigwam, and, grasping a firebrand, went out to the post, and said, "What are you doing up there, robbing me of birds which I am charged for to care?" The old woman began to remonstrate and to render an explanation, but the sister of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} thrust the burning brand against the hips and legs of the old woman, burning her so badly that she was glad to slip down and escape, returning homeward as rapidly as possible.

When she reached the base of the cliff upon which her wigwam was situated, she called out, "My daughters, let down the ladder that I may get up to the wigwam." The girls, hearing their mother calling, approached the cliff and, looking down, saw her beneath, when they immediately lowered the ladder to allow her to ascend.

When she reached the top of the rock she was very tired from the journey and the difficulty under which she had traveled by reason of the burns, so she entered the wigwam and immediately sat down without uttering a word. The elder wife of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} smiled when she perceived that her wicked mother had failed in her quest, and Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} said, "Have you brought me the red birds which I wanted?"—to which the old woman replied saying, "No; I did not succeed in getting them for you." The old woman felt that she had been defeated in her schemes and no longer attempted to detain her visitors, for she knew she was powerless to harm Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, so she did not oppose their leaving after Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} recovery, which followed soon after the old woman had delivered her message.

When Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} started to return to his own wigwam, where his sister dwelt, he was accompanied by his elder wife, the younger going back to her father in the mountain, while the three companions went each his own way to their home in the air.

The sisters of the wife of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} returned to their encampment where the ball players lived, and Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and his wife went their own way, arriving at the end of the first day's journey at a forest. Here they gathered branches and leaves, upon which they lay down and slept.

Early on the following day they arose to resume their journey, but were surprised to find that quite a clearing had been made during the night, by some unaccountable means, and an abundance of food was observed. After partaking of the food they set out on their journey. The next night they encamped amongst the trees, as before, and on the following morning again found the trees cleared away and food supplied for their wants. They ate heartily, but, taking none with them, they resumed their travels for the third day, in the evening of which they again made beds of branches and leaves, upon which they lay down and slept.

On the morning of the fourth day they again found that some unknown one had provided for their wants. After eating sufficiently, they

traveled onward until night. Then said Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ to his wife, "Here we will remain, for we are near to my sister's wigwam."

Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ then gathered materials for the erection of a wigwam, in which work his wife assisted. On the following morning Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ went to visit his sister, who, on seeing him, said, "Brother, where have you been so long? I have been faring very badly during your absence, for I have had scarcely anything to eat. I am therefore very glad you have returned."

Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ then told his sister where he had been, and said to her, "We live over there in the grove where you see the smoke ascending. Come over to see us."

She accompanied her brother to his wigwam and saw that he had an abundance of food, some of which he gave her. Thereafter she had sufficient to enable her to live comfortably, as Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ remained living near by.

Mä′näbŭsh left the wigwam occupied by the sister of Pä′skinĕ′nᵛ, as he had thus far aided in the success of one of the ânâ′maqkī′ŭ, who were his friends. He went to the place where his grandmother, Oqkomä′si, dwelt. Her wigwam was near a stream which passed by a huge rock called O′qkonē′me ("the place of the liver"), over which the water fell, forming a dam, beyond which the beavers could neither ascend nor descend. One day Mä′näbŭsh wanted some beaver meat to eat; so he went to the water and dug a deep trench to entrap a beaver. In this he was successful, and the next day he dug another deep ditch, from which he secured another beaver. On the third day, while digging out another beaver, he heard the voices of many animals and birds. These proved to be ma′nidos, who were discussing how they would stop him from getting out any more beavers. But Mä′näbŭsh succeeded in obtaining a third beaver, which, with the others, he ate, throwing the bones on the ground for his grandmother.

The animals, among which were the Wolf, the Fox, the Mink, and many others, were still excitedly discussing how they would attack Mä′näbŭsh. Yet he heeded them not, but told his grandmother to put a kettle over the fire and boil some water, as he wanted to make some soup for her. While she was doing this, Mä′näbŭsh gathered together the bones and cracked them so that the marrow would readily come out into the water. Mä′näbŭsh then said to the old woman, "Grandmother, now I will sing while you dance around the kettle."

"No," replied the grandmother, "I can not dance, for I am too old."

"Yes, you can, and you must dance, because that is the only way the soup will become strong and more palatable," returned Mä′näbŭsh.

The old woman still hesitated, but when Mä′näbŭsh began to sing she could not resist dancing around the kettle. When she had gone but halfway around, Mä′näbŭsh said, "Grandmother, to make the dance more effective, and to strengthen the soup, you must remove the skirts from your body." She gradually removed her clothing while

she was dancing, and continued around toward the side where Mä'näbŭsh sat singing.

"Now, grandmother," said he, "come close to the kettle so that the soup will be good."

While Mä'näbŭsh was occupied in singing, and his grandmother in dancing, the ma'nidos became very much excited and made preparations to drive both of them away. On the opposite side of the stream, Mä'näbŭsh saw the Owl and the Wildcat talking to each other. Suddenly the Owl said, "Hŭ-hŭ-hŭ-hŭ, hŭ-hŭ-hŭ-hŭ; see how I shall strike him; I shall drive him off easily enough." Then Mä'näbŭsh became alarmed, and said to his grandmother, "Grandmother, they are going to attack us; let us fly!"

"But I can not run; I am too old and feeble to run fast," replied she. "Take me on your back and carry me with you." "Well," said Mä'näbŭsh, "catch hold of my back and I will bear you off, for they are coming at us now."

So the grandmother of Mä'näbŭsh grasped him by the shoulders, he helping her to get upon his back, when he ran away just in time to escape the attack of the ma'nidos, who were ânâ'maqkī'ñ.

When Mä'näbŭsh had gone far enough for safety, he threw his grandmother from his back upon the ground and hurt her considerably. She was then told to gather together some birchbark and other materials to make a wigwam, which they soon erected and made habitable.

One day Mä'näbŭsh went off into the woods to hunt, and when he returned he found that his grandmother was awaiting him to prepare their meal, but he had not succeeded in procuring any game.

THE ORIGIN OF MAPLE SUGAR AND OF MENSTRUATION

The decrepit condition of Noko'mis is lost sight of in the following myth, which pretends to account for the origin of maple sugar. When Mä'näbŭsh returned empty-handed from his hunting trip, as related above, he and his grandmother, Noko'mis, gathered together all their effects, moved away from the place where they had dwelt, and built a new wigwam among the trees in the new locality.

These trees were maples, and the grandmother of Mä'näbŭsh said to him, "Now, my grandson, you go into the woods and gather for me some pieces of birchbark; I am going to make sugar." So Mä'näbŭsh went into the woods and gathered some strips of birchbark, which he took back to the wigwam, where his grandmother had cut some pieces of bark to make thread for sewing together pieces of birchbark to make vessels to contain the sugar.

The grandmother of Mä'näbŭsh then went from tree to tree, cutting a small hole into the bark of each and inserting into each cut a small piece of wood over which the sap ran into the vessels placed beneath. Mä'näbŭsh followed his grandmother from tree to tree, watching her

and looking for the sap to drop into the vessels, but none was to be seen. When she had gone around among the trees, and cut holes for as many vessels as she had made, Mä'näbŭsh went back and looking into the vessels saw that all of them had suddenly become half full of thick sirup.

Mä'näbŭsh dipped his finger into the sirup and tasted it. Finding it sweet, he said, "My grandmother, this is all very good, but it will not do to have these trees produce sirup in this manner. The people will not have any work if they make sugar so easily; they must cut wood to boil the sirup for several nights, and to keep them occupied that they may not get into bad habits; I will change all this."

So Mä'näbŭsh climbed to the very top of one of the trees, when he took his hand and scattered water all over the maples, like rain, so that the sugar should dissolve and flow from the trees in the form of sap. This is why the uncles of Mä'näbŭsh and their descendants always have to work hard when they want to make sugar. Wood must be cut, vessels must be made, and the sap that is collected must be boiled for a long time, otherwise the people would spend too much time in idleness.

Having brought about this benefit to the Indians, Mä'näbŭsh finally became jealous of the attentions of the Bear, who always called at his grandmother's wigwam when he went away. Killing this intruder, Mä'näbŭsh finally left the land of the Indians and sought a resting place where the hunters, already referred to in the ritual of the Mitä'wit, went to seek him and to ask for favors.

The myth then continues as follows:

One day Ma'näbŭsh went away into the woods to hunt for something to eat, but being unsuccessful he returned to his wigwam. When he entered he saw his grandmother seated upon a mat with her hair nicely combed, as he had never seen it before. So he said to her:

"Grandmother, I see you have combed your hair very nicely and put on clean clothes; have you had a visitor, or why have you done so?"

His grandmother made no satisfactory reply, and he asked nothing further regarding the circumstance; but he suspected that some one had been there and that she did not want him to know it.

On the following day Mä'näbŭsh again went away into the woods to hunt, and when he returned he again found his grandmother seated upon a mat, her hair nicely arranged, and her best skirt and leggings on. He said nothing, but his suspicions became stronger that someone had been to the wigwam during his absence.

On the following morning Mä'näbŭsh again went away into the woods to hunt, and when he returned to the wigwam he found his grandmother just as he had found her twice before.

The next morning Mä'näbŭsh pretended to go into the woods to hunt as before, but he soon came back near to his wigwam to discover who visited his grandmother. He suspected that it was the Bear, but he wanted to be certain. He had not long to wait before he heard the Bear

coming along a trail leading to the wigwam, snorting and grunting, so he kept very quiet. Presently the Bear came into view, waddling from side to side and making directly for the wigwam, which he entered. Then Mä′näbŭsh got a piece of dry birchbark and lit one end of it, making a fierce blaze; he then went quietly up to the doorway of the wigwam, and, pulling aside the cover, saw the Bear with his grandmother. He threw the burning bark at the Bear, striking him on the back just above the loin. The Bear, frantic with pain, rushed out of the opposite door of the wigwam, and sped away through the woods and down the hill toward a stream. Before reaching the water, however, the flames had burnt the hair from the Bear's back, because the bark was still adhering to his body, and he fell dead.

After Mä′näbŭsh had thrown the blazing bark at the Bear, he ran away from the wigwam to hide in the brush, but when he saw the Bear running away through the woods, he followed him, and ere he came up to where the Bear was, the latter was already dead. Taking up the carcass, Mä′näbŭsh carried it back to his wigwam, which he entered and threw the body down on the floor before his grandmother, saying, "There, grandmother, I have killed a bear; now we shall have something to eat."

"How did you kill him, my grandson?" said the grandmother.

"I killed him," replied Mä′näbŭsh, not wishing to admit that he had burnt him to death.

Mä′näbŭsh cut up the Bear and offered a piece to his grandmother; but she cried out excitedly, "No, my grandson, that was my husband; I can not eat it."

Mä′näbŭsh then took up a clot of the Bear's blood and threw it at his grandmother, hitting her upon the abdomen, saying, "There, take that!" Then she replied, "For that act your aunts will always have trouble every moon, and will give birth to just such clots as this."

Mä′näbŭsh then ate all he wanted of the meat and put the rest aside for another time.

MÄ′NÄBŬSH AND THE BEAR ÂNÂ′MAQKĬ′Ŭ

A few days after the above occurrence Mä′näbŭsh decided to go on a journey to see how his uncles were faring, and to learn if he could be of assistance to them. He traveled far, and at the close of one day he saw a wigwam and approached it, finding therein a family consisting of six persons—the father, mother, three sons, and a daughter.

On entering the wigwam Mä′näbŭsh said, "My friends, I am glad I have found you, for I want to see how all the people are getting along. So it will always be; some will live here and others will live elsewhere; all will be scattered, but it is better so that each will have enough game to hunt for food."

Mä′näbŭsh, being asked to enter and partake of the little they had, did so, and remained there.

Food being scarce with this family, the three sons decided to go hunting the next day, and early in the morning they started away to the woods. They followed a trail for a great distance until they came to a point where it branched. Here the brothers separated—one taking the left-hand trail, the other two the trail to the right. Each of the brothers had a dog, and as the snow was on the ground they wore their snowshoes. The eldest brother was one of the two on the right-hand trail, who had not gone far before the dogs scented a bear, which started out of the brush and ran. The dogs pursued the animal, and the brothers followed the dogs. They had not gone far before the elder succeeded in shooting an arrow through the body of the bear, killing him.

The two young men then took up the bear and returned to the fork of the trail, where they were met by their brother, when they all returned to their father's wigwam. They threw down the bear, saying, "Father, here is a bear which we killed; now we shall have something to eat."

To this the father replied, "When I was a young man I used to get two bears in one day; hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The sons said nothing, but early the next morning they set out on the trail they had gone the day before. When they got a short distance beyond the fork of the trail the dogs scented a bear which was hidden in the brush, and began to bark. The bear started off in the direction of the right-hand trail, the dogs chasing him, and two of the boys following the dogs. After running a great distance the second son in age drew his arrow and shot the bear through the body, killing him. Then the two took up the bear and started back to the fork of the trail, where they met the youngest son, who also had shot a bear which he found in the left-hand trail. The boys then returned to the wigwam, and throwing down the two bears, said to their father—

"Father, here are two bears which we have brought you; now you shall have something to eat."

Their father replied by saying, "When I was a young man I used to get three bears in one day; but hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The boys felt rather disappointed at this response, but said nothing.

On the next morning they again started away early, taking the same trail on which they had before found bears. When they came to the fork of the trail, they saw the same brush which they had previously observed, and in which the dogs had scented the bears. Presently the dogs began to bark and a bear started out to run away, but the youngest of the three ran after him and shot him with an arrow. Another bear was found by the dogs, which began to bark, and the brothers, starting out anew, soon overtook and killed him. They had not recovered their breath before a third bear was aroused from its hiding place and started away, but the brothers pursued this one also, soon overtaking it and killing it with arrows.

They now got the bears together and took them home to the wigwam. Throwing them down before their father, they said, "Father, here are three bears; now you shall have something to eat."

Their father replied, saying, "When I was a young man I used to get four bears in one day; but hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The boys did not know what to make of this remark, but kept quiet, as they intended to see what success they would have on the following day.

The father then dressed the meat and a feast was prepared, of which they all ate heartily.

Now, these bears which had been killed were the servants of the Bear chief of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who dwelt in a lofty, long mountain in the direction in which the young men hunted, but much farther away; and every time a bear was killed, although the body remained, the shade of the bear returned to the home of the Bear chief, where his wounds were visible to all the others.

The Bear chief became very angry at the destruction of his servants, so decided to capture and destroy the hunters. He called one of his servants and said to him, "You go to the brush at the fork of the trail where the boys killed your brothers, and the moment they come back and the dogs discover you, you must return with all speed to this place. The mountain will open to let you in, and the hunters will follow; then I shall take them and punish them.

The servant of the Bear chief started off to the brush at the fork of the trail and awaited the coming of the three huntsmen.

Next morning, after the father of the boys had prepared the feast, the two elder sons started off to hunt, leaving the youngest brother at home. The snow was soft and slushy, and the air was so damp that the bowstring of the elder brother became unfastened, while that on the bow of the younger brother became broken. Just as this mishap was discovered the dogs began to bark, and to chase a bear, the servant of the Bear chief, out of the brush where he had secreted himself. The bear ran rapidly along the right-hand trail, the dogs and the brothers following. In this way they traveled a great distance, but finally saw a large mountain before them, stretching to the right and left of the trail upon which they were. The servant of the Bear chief was expected at the home of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and the mountain opened to admit him, the dogs following, and the elder of the brothers following the dogs into the very middle of the mountain. The other brother had become so exhausted that he was still far behind. When the elder had reached the middle of the Bear chief's wigwam, he realized where he was; he saw bears on every side of him, sitting around as if they were holding a council, which indeed they were doing at that very time. The bear which the elder brother had been chasing was lying panting on the ground near his feet, but when he saw where he was he made no attempt to shoot the animal. The chief of the bears then said to the young man, "Why are you trying to kill all of my

people? Don't you see that around you there are a number with arrows sticking into their bodies? That is the work done by you and your brothers. I will put a stop to this by transforming you into a bear."

By this time the second brother came up breathlessly to where the eldest one stood, and cried out, "Don't you see that bear lying there; why don't you shoot him?"—and grasping his arrow he attempted to thrust it into the bear; but his brother held back his arm and said, "Don't you see where you are?"

The one addressed was not aware that he was in the presence of the chief of the bear ânâ'maqkī'ñ, but continued to struggle forward to kill the bear. Again the elder brother remonstrated with him, and then he looked up and beheld the angry bears about him. On one side were the servants of the Bear chief, while on the other side, but farther away, were the servants of the chief's sister, who also was there. The chief's sister had compassion on the two young men and begged her brother, the Bear chief, not to kill them. He told them that he would not take their lives, but that he would transform the brothers in such a way that they would be half bear and half human—the arms and legs being like the fore and hind legs of a bear, while the head and body of each should remain as they were. There were two springs of water in the ground near where the brothers were standing. When the Bear chief advanced to them, he took from the water a bunch of moss and rubbed it over the boys' legs and arms, when these members immediately became likened to the corresponding limbs of a bear.

In the meantime, the father of the boys, having awaited in vain their return, started out to find them. The Bear chief knew that search would be made for the young men, so he told one of his servants to go to the brush at the fork of the trail, and there await the boys' father. The father, on reaching the fork of the trail, did not know which direction his sons had taken, but after a few moments' search he discovered fresh tracks of snowshoes leading forward toward the brush from which the bears had appeared. In following this trail the father went forward so fast that he stumbled, and falling slid headlong into a cavity in which the bear servant of the Bear chief had secreted himself. The bear thereupon broke the man's neck, and awaited the coming of anyone else who might search for the young men or their father.

When the father did not return to the wigwam, his wife knew that some disaster had befallen him, so she decided to follow his trail and to learn, if possible, what had become of him and her two sons. She started upon the course taken by the now missing men until she arrived at the fork of the trail. Here she discovered the tracks of snowshoes leading forward on the two branches of the trail, but she was undecided which she should follow. She espied the brush, a short distance ahead, where the bears had before secreted themselves, and while contemplating the situation her eyes fell upon the snowshoe tracks made by her

husband. She hastened forward to learn where they led, but ere she reached the bushes, upon which her eyes were momentarily directed, she came to the cavity where the bear was hidden and where her husband lay dead. Slipping into the hole, feet foremost, the bear grasped her and broke her neck. The bear then returned to the wigwam of the Bear chief and reported what he had done, in revenge for the attack made on his brothers by the young hunters.

As their mother and father did not return home the youngest son and his sister became alarmed, and instantly felt that some great misfortune had befallen them. They felt confident that their parents were no more, but could not imagine how they had perished, nor through what manner they had brought upon themselves the anger of someone unknown to them.

Near the wigwam occupied by the two orphans stood a large tree with strong, wide-spreading branches, upon which the boy often amused himself and from which he could see a great distance. He kept watching for the return of his brothers, then for his father, and now he strained his eyes in trying to see some sign of life, as, since his mother also was among the missing, he felt very lonely and sad. The responsibility of providing for his little sister now devolved on him, and as he was compelled to hunt for something to eat he decided to prepare himself also for making search for the missing ones.

The little boy told his sister that he would go away to hunt some game, and also to see if he could ascertain anything regarding the fate of his brothers and his parents, but the girl cried and begged him to abandon such a dangerous undertaking. The boy was not to be influenced, but began to prepare himself for the journey. He made four arrows, one having a shaft of osä′skimino′na,[1] another of pewo′-naskin (reed), another of mo′nipio′nowĕ (tamarack), and the fourth of okapuowe (kwapu′owĕ=hazel). He also made a small bow, and went out to the large tree near the wigwam and got down his snowshoes, which had been hanging there. The right snowshoe was called dodō′pa (small saw-whet owl) and the left snowshoe was called the kŭkŭ′kŭŭ (horned owl).

Early next morning he went to a small bark box, under which he kept his little dog, called Waisau′witä′ (Red-mouth), and let it out so that he might accompany him. Then the little hunter started out on the trail on which his brothers and his parents had departed, and traveled along for a great distance until he came to an immense tree. Here he rested, but his little dog began barking at the tree, and this led the boy to think that perhaps his parents might have been killed there; so he stepped back, and taking one of his arrows out of his quiver he attached it to the string of his bow, and shot it into the root of the tree, whereupon the latter took fire, with a noise like the rumbling of thunder, and was consumed by the flames.

[1] A common weed growing about gardens and in the woods.

When this had been accomplished the boy continued his journey until he came to the fork of the trail. Here he stopped for a moment to decide which one of the two branches he should follow. Seeing the snowshoe tracks on the right, he took the trail in that direction, and presently espied the bushes where the bears used to secrete themselves.

Now it happened that the Bear chief knew what was transpiring, and when he found that the boy was going in pursuit of his lost brothers he sent a very small bear servant to the bushes to await the boy's coming and to endeavor to cause him to traverse the trail to the mountain where the ânâ'maqkī'ŭ dwelt.

As the boy reached the brush his little dog ran toward it and began barking, whereupon the little bear ran out and away for his home as fast as he could.

The dog followed the bear, and the boy followed his dog onward and onward until the large mountain, the wigwam of the Bear chief, appeared in sight. The snow was wet and heavy, and the thong of the boy's right snowshoe became so loose that it finally broke, compelling the boy to stop to repair it. By the time this was done the little bear and the dog got so far ahead of him that he could hear the barking but faintly. While the boy ran he said to his snowshoes, "Now we will have to hurry or we shall lose both the bear and the dog." The snowshoes continued to sing like the dodō'pa and the kŭkŭ'kūū, one saying "tō-ō-ō-ō-ō-ō', te-ō-ō-ō-ō-ō-o'," and the other "hŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ', hŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ'."

The sister of the Bear chief, who had had compassion on the elder brothers of the boy, now smiled at the curious sight when she saw him coming toward her brother's wigwam with singing snowshoes, for she could see and hear all this although she dwelt in the mountain.

The little boy continued to run after his dog, but the mountain had opened to receive the little bear, when the dog also entered in pursuit. When the little boy reached the base of the mountain he heard the barking ahead of him, but thought the dog had crossed over to the other side, so he continued until he reached the opposite base of the mountain. Then, stopping to listen, he heard the barking behind him, so he ran back to the other side searching for his dog.

But the sound proceeded again from the direction whence he had just come; therefore he started to return, but becoming tired he halted an instant after he had reached the summit of the mountain, when he heard the voice of the dog beneath him. He knew then where he was, and calling out to the Bear chief, said, "Let my dog out; I want him!" Hearing no response, he again called out to the ânâ'maqkī'ŭ, "Let my dog out; I want him! If you do not, I shall destroy your wigwam!" As the Bear chief did not respond to this demand, the boy descended the mountain, and drawing one of his arrows pointed it at the base of the height and shot through it. This set the mountain afire and destroyed it, as well as the Bear chief and his servants. But the sister

of the Bear chief and her servants were spared, because she had tried to prevent her brother from punishing the two elder brothers of the boy.

When the young huntsman entered the wigwam of the bears he saw the condition of his brothers, and while gazing at them, utterly unable to devise some means of relieving them of the bear's paws and legs into which their hands, arms, and legs had been changed, the sister of the Bear chief came to him and said, "Little boy, take some moss out of that spring and let your brothers smell of it; then they will be restored to their former condition." The little boy thanked the sister of the Bear chief for this information, and going to the spring near the feet of his elder brother took from it a handful of wet moss and held it to their nostrils, whereupon the bear skin became detached and dropped from their arms and legs.

The three brothers then left the wigwam of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ñ and returned to their sister, who now required their help and protection.

The myth then continues, but Mä'näbŭsh appears to have retired from the field, remaining at the wigwam of the hunter while the young men went out.

HOW THE YOUNG HUNTER CAUGHT THE SUN

Because the youngest brother had restored to his sister her elder brothers, she made for him a fine robe of beaver skins trimmed with colored porcupine quills. He was very proud of this garment, and wore it almost constantly.

One day while the two elder brothers were out hunting in the forest, the youngest went away to hide himself and to mourn because he was not permitted to join them. He had with him his bow and arrows and his beaver-skin robe; but when the Sun rose high in the sky he became tired and laid himself down to weep, covering himself entirely with his robe to keep out the Sun. When the Sun was directly overhead and saw the boy, it sent down a ray which burned spots upon the robe and made it shrink until it exposed the boy. Then the Sun smiled, while the boy wept more violently than before. He felt that he had been cruelly treated both by his brothers and now by the Sun. He said to the Sun, "You have treated me cruelly and burned my robe, when I did not deserve it. Why do you punish me like this?" The Sun merely continued to smile, but said nothing.

The boy then gathered up his bow and arrows, and taking his burnt robe, returned to the wigwam, where he laid down in a dark corner and again wept. His sister was outside of the wigwam when he returned, so she was not aware of his presence when she reentered to attend to her work. Presently she heard someone crying, and going over to the place whence the sound came she found that it was her youngest brother who was in distress.

She said to him, "My brother, why are you weeping?"—to which he replied, "Look at me; I am sad because the Sun burned my beaver-skin

robe; I have been cruelly treated this day." Then he turned his face away and continued to weep. Even in his sleep he sobbed, because of his distress.

When he awoke, he said to his sister, "My sister, give me a thread; I wish to use it."

She handed him a sinew thread, but he said to her, "No, that is not what I want; I want a hair thread." She said to him, "Take this; this is strong." "No," he replied, "that is not the kind of a thread I want; I want a hair thread."

She then understood his meaning, and plucking a single hair from her person handed it to him, when he said, "That is what I want," and taking it at both ends he began to pull it gently, smoothing it out as it continued to lengthen until it reached from the tips of the fingers of one hand to the ends of the fingers of the other.

Then he started out to where the Sun's path touched the earth. When he reached the place where the Sun was when it burned his robe, the little boy made a noose and stretched it across the path, and when the Sun came to that point the noose caught him around the neck and began to choke him until he almost lost his breath. It became dark, and the Sun called out to the ma'nidos, "Help me, my brothers, and cut this string before it kills me." The ma'nidos came, but the thread had so cut into the flesh of the Sun's neck that they could not sever it. When all but one had given up, the Sun called to the Koq'kipikuq'ki (the mouse) to try to cut the string. The Mouse came up and gnawed at the string, but it was difficult work, because the string was hot and deeply embedded in the Sun's neck. After working at the string a good while, however, the Mouse succeeded in cutting it, when the Sun breathed again and the darkness disappeared. If the Mouse had not succeeded, the Sun would have died. Then the boy said to the Sun, "For your cruelty I have punished you; now you may go."

The boy then returned to his sister, satisfied with what he had done.

THE HUNTER AND THE ELK PEOPLE, AND HOW THE MOOSE WERE DEFEATED

In this myth the hunter proves to have been Mä'näbŭsh, he having in some unexplained manner assumed the dress and manner of a hunter, and in that guise experienced some curious adventures, as follows:

The three brothers now lived with and provided for their sister, until one day the eldest felt inclined to go away hunting in a region which he had not before visited. While away, at a great distance from his own kindred, he came upon a wigwam inhabited by a family of three persons—a man and his wife and their only child, who was a girl. The young hunter became fond of the girl and married her, but soon moved away and built a wigwam of his own. In due course of time the hunter's wife bore a child, and then the hunter was obliged to hunt for more game and furs to provide for his little family. His wife was not

of agreeable disposition, so they did not get along so pleasantly as might have been hoped.

The hunter went into the woods one day, but, although he traveled until nightfall, he failed to get any game, and returned home disappointed. The next day he again went out to procure some food for his wife and child, yet, notwithstanding he was a good hunter, he again failed to obtain any.

The wife then said to the hunter, "Why is it that you can not get me enough food to eat?—you were more successful in former days." The hunter told her that he could not account for his ill luck, and that he would try his fortune again on the following day.

On the morning of the morrow it snowed heavily and he went through the woods looking in every direction for game, but the only thing he got was a partridge. It stormed so severely and the snow drifted so much that he became lost; so he endeavored to find some familiar locality that he might return to his wigwam, but without success. Night approached, and, not knowing his whereabouts, the hunter gathered together some brush and wood to build a fire and to make a shelter to camp during the night. Having done this he laid down and went to sleep. How long he slept he knew not, but when he first awoke it was still dark. While yet awake he suddenly thought he heard something approaching. He closed his eyes and pretended to be asleep, but the sound came so close to him that he opened his eyes slightly and to his amazement saw a Wolf standing near by, which said to him, "My brother, you are going to starve; you have not killed anything today; I came to you because I pity you. Your wigwam is close by and you will see it when daylight approaches; then you must go home and cook and eat your partridge."

When the sun rose, the hunter went home to cook the partridge for his wife and child, but found that the child had starved. After he had completed his work he returned to the woods again to hunt some game, and, arriving at the place where he had camped the night before, he found the Wolf there awaiting him. The Wolf said, "You must now kill some deer which I will drive close to you, but you must keep the liver and the fat for me; the remainder you may carry to your wigwam."

The hunter was pleased to hear this from the Wolf, and agreed to give the liver and fat of the deer to him. The Wolf started away, and presently a deer came running by the place where the hunter stood, closely followed by the Wolf. As the deer came near the hunter he let fly an arrow, wounding it, which enabled the Wolf to catch it and kill it by tearing open its throat. The hunter then dressed the deer, giving the liver and the fat to the Wolf for his assistance, and taking to his wigwam the remainder of the deer, including the paunch filled with blood. As the hunter approached, his wife was cutting wood, and when she looked up and saw her husband coming back with the deer she appeared very much pleased. She took the deer and was engaged

in cutting it up to broil, but not finding the liver she said to her husband, "What have you done with the liver; you know I am very fond of it?"

He replied, saying, "I did not bring the liver with me;" whereat she seemed satisfied. He did not want to tell her he had given it to the Wolf, because he did not want her to know that he had killed the deer only through his assistance, and thought the Wolf was entitled to at least so small a portion.

The next day the hunter again went into the woods, where he met the Wolf awaiting him as before. Upon their meeting the Wolf said to the hunter, "Now I will drive another deer past this place where you stand, and you must shoot it; all I want in return is the liver and the fat."

The hunter prepared himself, while the Wolf started away to find another deer. In this he soon succeeded, and, driving it by the place where the hunter stood, the latter shot an arrow into its body which disabled it, when the Wolf soon overtook it and killed it by tearing open its throat as before. The hunter dressed the body of the deer, as usual, giving the liver and the fat to the Wolf, after which he started to return to his wigwam. As he was going away, the Wolf said to the hunter, "Tomorrow morning you will return again, when we shall get still another deer."

"All right," replied the hunter, "I will return, as you ask me."

After the hunter had reached his wigwam his wife again prepared to broil the meat, but not finding the liver she asked her husband, in an angry tone, "What have you done with the liver; you know I am fond of it and wanted you to bring it to me?" The hunter made an evasive response, not wishing to tell her what he had done with the liver, after which they both ate their meal in silence.

On the following morning he again went away to hunt, finding the Wolf where they had parted on the preceding evening. The Wolf seemed glad to see the hunter and said, "Now, my brother, you get ready your bow and arrows while I go out to find a deer, and when I drive it past this place you must shoot it." The hunter made the necessary preparations while the Wolf started off in search of a deer, which he soon found and drove by the place where the hunter stood. He shot an arrow into its body which disabled it, when the Wolf soon overtook the deer and killed it in the same manner in which he had dispatched the others.

The hunter dressed the deer, throwing the liver and fat to the Wolf, when the latter said, "Now, my brother, go home with your deer, but come back again tomorrow." The hunter agreed to do so and started home. His wife met him at the wigwam as usual. When she cut up the carcass she looked for the liver, but not finding it she turned angrily toward her husband and said, "Where is the liver; you know I am very fond of it and that I asked you for it before?" He replied,

"I have left it in the woods, and think you ought to be well satisfied with the meat."

She was jealous of his apparent carelessness, but nothing further was said during the meal, soon after which they both went to sleep, for night had come.

On the following morning he again went away to hunt, and returning to the spot where he had left the Wolf the preceding evening he found that ma'nido awaiting him. The Wolf said to the hunter, "Now, my brother, you get ready your bow and arrows, while I go out to find a deer, and when it runs by this place you must shoot it with an arrow." The hunter prepared himself as before, while the Wolf disappeared among the trees. Soon the hunter heard the crackling of twigs, and a deer came running past, closely pursued by the Wolf. Then the hunter let fly an arrow, disabling the deer, when the Wolf soon overtook it and killed it by tearing open its throat as before. Then the hunter dressed the carcass, but gave the Wolf only some fat and a piece of meat, telling the Wolf that he wanted this time to give the liver to his wife. The Wolf said nothing in response to this, but appeared to be disappointed. The hunter went home as before, threw down the carcass of the deer, when his wife immediately began to look for the liver, which she found.

She seemed gratified that she had compelled her husband to do as she had wished. He said to her, "Eat the liver, but be careful that you eat all of it, and do not leave any part of it lying about anywhere." She was only too glad to follow her husband's advice, but little knew what it would cost her.

On the following day he again went to the place in the woods where he had parted with the Wolf on the preceding evening, but the Wolf was not there. The hunter looked in every direction, but there were no signs of him. During the day there came in sight only one deer, at which the hunter shot, but missed, and the deer ran away. The hunter traveled all day in quest of it, but his search was of no avail. Night coming on he built a fire and prepared a shelter where he could sleep. He had not long settled himself for the night when the Wolf came up to the fire and laid down by it, panting and wearied. The hunter said to the Wolf, "My brother, where have you been that you look so tired?" To this the Wolf replied, "I have been hunting, but because you gave your wife the liver, I have not been successful; you should not have given it to her. She is a wicked woman, and you should leave her and find a wife among other people."

These words made the hunter think of how he had been treated by his wife, and he finally said to the Wolf, "My brother, your words are good, and I shall do as you advise me." Then the Wolf took from his foreleg the "dew claw," and gave it to the hunter, saying, "Take this, my brother, and wear it about your wrist always; when you have it you will be strong and nothing can escape you, and you will be successful

in everything you undertake; but if you remove it from your wrist you will be defeated."

The hunter took the claw which the Wolf gave him, and attached it to his left wrist, when the Wolf said, "My brother, your name will henceforth be Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}.[1] When you leave this place, go in any direction but toward your wigwam; you will find people who are great gamblers, and he who is the losing one of this people you will know as the father of the girl whom you will take to be your wife. The family consists of seven persons, the father, the mother, four sons, and one daughter. Now I shall leave you." Then the hunter and the Wolf parted—the Wolf disappearing in the forest while the hunter took his bow and arrows and set out in the opposite direction.

The hunter now traveled through a country which he had not before seen nor heard of. There was game in every direction, but he had not yet come to a place where there were signs of human beings. Late in the afternoon, when he was tired and cold, and did not know what course to take to find a settlement, he heard a sound like that made by cutting wood. He proceeded very cautiously in the direction of the noise, peering from side to side, and discovered not far away two camps. But near to where he was he saw a large dead tree which was smouldering and which he approached to warm himself. While here seated and contemplating what might be his next adventure he heard some one approaching in the direction of the nearest camp. On looking up he saw coming toward him an old woman who seemed preoccupied, for her eyes were directed toward the ground. She came almost up to the hunter before she saw him, and becoming alarmed at the sight of a stranger she hastened back to her wigwam.

The old woman's husband was asleep, so when she entered the wigwam she shook him by the shoulder and said, "Wake up; I have just come from the burning tree and there saw Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}."

The old man, on hearing these words, immediately raised himself from the robes, and calling to his youngest son said, "Come here, my son." The young man approached his father, who then said, "Your mother says she has just returned from the burning tree where she saw Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}; go to him and bring him to me, for I think he must be your brother-in-law." The young man grasped his warclub and went out to find the hunter and to bring him to the wigwam.

This old man and his family were the chief of the Omas'kos (Elk people), who occupied the first village which the hunter saw, while the second village was inhabited by the Mō^{n}s (Moose people). The inhabitants of these two settlements were great gamblers and were antagonistic to each other, because the Moose people were usually successful in any games undertaken, whereas the Elk people believed their lack of success due to some trickery.

[1] This signifies a foot shaped like the oblong rawhide traveling bag used by the Indians for stowing away small articles. *Nano'kupä'qkwe*, carrying bag; *ni'sitä^{v}*, foot.

When the son of the old man went out to find the hunter, he approached him in a very threatening manner and made gestures as if he were going to club the hunter to death. The hunter, however, only smiled at the young man's actions, whereupon the latter dropped his club, and approaching the hunter said to him, "Come to my father, my brother, as he wishes to see you; he says you must be Nano'kupä'q-kweni'sitä^{v}, who is to become my brother-in-law." The hunter arose, pleased at the invitation, and followed the young man to the wigwam, where he was met by the old man, who bade him enter and be seated.

The old man then said to him, "My son, you must be Nano'kupä'q-kweni'sitä^{v}, of whose coming I have been aware; you are to become my son-in-law."

The hunter replied, "Yes, I am known by that name, and by what the Wolf told me, you are no doubt the chief of this village."

"Yes," replied the old man, "I am the chief of this village, which is occupied by the Elk people; but the other village, which you see yonder, belongs to the Moose people, with whom we have not fared very well of late."

Then, calling forward his daughter, the old man continued, "This, my son, is my only daughter, who is to become your wife. Take her if you desire." Then bidding the girl to advance where the hunter could behold her comeliness, she went toward the stranger a few paces, where she stood abashed and with downcast eyes. The hunter admired her, and stepping forward took her by the hand and led her toward the seat he had occupied, saying to the old man, "I will take her, my father, and remain with you until we have conquered the Moose people."

To signify that he was well pleased with his choice, and to honor his father-in-law, the young hunter pulled forth from his pouch a short piece of tobacco, which he broke in two, retaining one portion for himself, and handing the other to his wife, saying, "Give this to your father that we may have a smoke." She took it and handed it to her father, who rubbed it between the palms of his hands, whereupon tobacco kept dropping to the ground in such quantities that there was a great heap, sufficient to last for many days. Portions of it were sent to every person in the village, and yet there did not appear to be any diminution in the quantity of tobacco. The act of sending out tobacco to all the people was intended to inform them that the old man had now a son-in-law, by which they also learned that the stranger was Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}, of whom they had heard through the old man.

The Moose people hearing of the events which were transpiring in the village of the Elk people, came on a visit to the Elk people a few days later, saying to the new wife of Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}, "Our women have come to play a game with your husband, to see whether he is better at playing with plum-stones than we are." The girl informed her husband what the Moose people said, and told him, "Be careful, my husband, because they are good players, and if you lose

they will beat all of us with sticks and clubs, as they always do when we are defeated."

The hunter came out of the wigwam, and advancing to the Moose women, said, "I hear you want to play a game of plum-stones with me; I am willing to play." They all became seated, when the hunter's wife said to him, "Do not play with these women, for they have human eyeballs instead of plum-stones, and they will win every throw."

"I am not afraid of them," rejoined the hunter; "wait and see who wins." Then the chief of the women began to argue and dispute with the hunter about who should commence, when the woman brought forth a dish, which she began to shake, but the hunter pushed it aside, saying, "That will not do; those things in the dish are not plum-stones, but human eyeballs. I will begin with my set." Whereupon he brought forth his own set, shook the bowl, and when the eight plum-stones had ceased rolling about he had won every point. This he did a second time, when the Elk people began to say to one another, "Now get ready your sticks to whip the Moose folk, for we shall surely be the winners today;" but the Moose people, who had gathered about to watch the result of the game, also whispered to one another, "Prepare yourselves to whip the Elks, for they can not succeed."

By this time the hunter had thrown the plum-stones a third time, and the Elks were beginning to crowd onward toward the Moose. When the fourth throw was made, which decided the game in favor of the Elks, the latter ran at the Moose, thoroughly thrashing them all the way back to their village.

The Moose were at first dumfounded at their unexpected defeat, and next day considered what they might devise to defeat the Elk people in the plum-stone game.

Between the Moose village and the Elk village stood two high posts, near together, and across the two from top to top was a piece of wood from which was suspended a metal ball. On the ground lay a very large, heavy ball, which but few could lift. The Moose folk, thinking this would be a test for the hunter, sent word to the Elks to meet them in order to see who of their number could lift and throw the heavy ball so as to strike the one suspended from the crosspiece.

The Elks responded by going out to the place where the Moose were awaiting them. Then the best man of the Moose went to the ball, and with great exertion lifted and threw it up, barely touching the suspended smaller one. The Moose people then began to exult and to whisper to one another, saying, "Now get ready to return the whipping we got yesterday."

The young brother-in-law of the hunter now approached the large ball, and pretended that he could not move it. Then the Moose began to push forward so as to rush upon the Elks, for they supposed the young man could not succeed. When the hunter heard their remarks he rushed forward, and grasping the ball sent it far over the poles, as

the ball had never before been thrown. Then the Elks attacked the Moose and thrashed them severely, chasing them all the way back to their village.

The young Moose people were mortified and amazed at their ill luck, but began immediately to devise a plan whereby they could yet humiliate their rivals. The women again met, and, after deliberating what to propose to the Elk people, one of them said, "Let us have a contest at diving in the lake, and see if our young men can not remain under the water longer than the best of the Elk people. It is cold and the lake is covered with ice, which is better for us, and we can soon cut a hole where the trial may take place." To this the Moose people all agreed, whereupon the party went over to the Elk village and called out to the chief, "We have come over to have another contest with you, which we are sure we can win." The chief spoke to his people to ascertain if they would agree to the proposal, whereon they all advanced much pleased at the prospect of again defeating their rivals.

The entire party, comprising the inhabitants of both villages, proceeded to the lake, where a large hole was made in the ice, and the champion of the Moose people prepared to get down into the water. As the hunter came forward from the Elk people his young brother-in-law said to him, "You must let me compete this time, as our bodies are covered with hair, while yours, having only a bare skin, will freeze."

"No, my brother," said the hunter, "I am fully able to withstand the cold, notwithstanding my bare skin; I am going to dive, and we will see if I can not defeat that Moose."

The hunter tore away from his brother-in-law, and divesting himself of most of his clothing, got into the water to await the signal for diving.

As the hunter sat at the edge of the ice, Miqkä'no (Mud-turtle) came up from the bottom of the lake and said to the hunter, "My brother, I have come to take care of you; I will cover your body with mine and you shall not feel the cold water at all. Trust yourself to my care." The hunter was greatly pleased to know that the Wolf had not forgotten him, by sending to him at this critical time a friend, in the form of the Mud-turtle, so he said "My brother, I shall do as you tell me, and am glad that you have come to my assistance."

The signal being given, the divers plunged into the icy water and disappeared. Then the Moose people began to hope they should succeed, and said to one another, "Now get your sticks, so as to be ready to whip the Elks, for the hunter will certainly come up first."

"No, wait," said some of the more prudent; "the contest is not yet over."

The Elks also began to encourage one another, and prepared to pounce upon the Moose, as they, too, had great hope of winning.

In the meantime the Moose, who was under the water, spoke to his antagonist, saying, "Elk, are you cold?" to which the Mud-turtle replied for the hunter, "No, Moose; are you cold?" This was distinctly heard by those on shore, and considerable agitation was caused

when the Mud-turtle, who assumed the voice of the hunter, asked, "Moose, are you cold?" and no response was made. The Moose people became somewhat alarmed when their diver did not respond, for they believed, and very truly, that he was so benumbed with cold that he could not speak. Then slowly, and with great effort, the Moose rose to the surface, thinking that surely by this time his rival had been vanquished, but was met with the blows of the Elk people, who began vigorously to ply their sticks and clubs upon every one of their opponents. The Elks' champion, the hunter, was then brought to the surface by the Mud-turtle, just in time to see the last of the fleeing Moose people disappearing into their wigwams.

The hunter then returned to his wife, who met him with joy, saying, "My husband, I am pleased with your success, for before you came among us the Moose people were always successful and punished us."

Even this defeat of the Moose did not seem to dishearten them, for they immediately began to devise a scheme for a more difficult task with which to challenge the Elk people. It was decided to challenge the latter to a contest on the ice, to see which of the champions could slide most rapidly. The Moose claimed that they were the most expert on smooth ice, and all of them having agreed on this game, they went to the village of the Elks saying they should like another contest.

The Elk people, having gained confidence since they had three times succeeded in defeating the Moose, were quick in accepting the challenge, and all started out to the lake.

The lake was very long, and two paths were soon cleared of snow, exposing a perfectly smooth surface. The Moose people arranged themselves along the right shore of the lake, while the Elk folk occupied the left shore. The hunter was one of those who desired to compete against the Moose, but his wife's young brother came to him and said, "Brother-in-law, you can not slide on this smooth surface, as your feet are not fitted for it. My feet are hard and I can easily defeat them."

The hunter hesitated a moment, but before he could make a reply, Mikek', the Otter, who was invisible to everybody else, came to him and said, "My brother, you come out on the ice, and when you prepare to slide you must place your feet upon me. My fur is thick and smooth and will skim over the ice without any trouble; but I must tell you that when we reach the goal at the end of the lake, I shall continue through the snowbank which you see there, to insure the defeat of the Moose."

The hunter expressed his gratitude to the Otter, and said to his brother-in-law, "Brother-in-law, I shall compete in this game, as Otter is going to place himself flat upon the ice, and I shall succeed."

The contestants then approached the starting point, and each was eager to begin. No one could perceive the Otter beneath the feet of the hunter, because he was a ma'nido, and had been sent by the Wolf.

The Moose believed that because the hunter's feet were not hard he would be unable to continue far; and already, before the start was

made, they began to whisper about the whipping they would at last be enabled to inflict upon the Elk people.

The Elk people, on the other side, were equally confident of success, and had their sticks and clubs ready to attack their rivals the moment the race was decided in their favor. Presently the signal was given, and away went the Moose and the hunter together; but the latter, going faster and faster, soon outstripped the Moose, who stopped at the end of the course, while the hunter went completely through the snowbank, so great was his speed.

Then the Elk people exulted and chased the Moose back to their village, beating them all the way, in retaliation for the many whippings they had themselves once received at their hands.

The Moose people were very much angered at this repeated defeat, and began to murmur among themselves. They thought that they could certainly devise some contest by which they would win, and one of the old Moose women said, "We have a swift runner here in our camp; why not try a footrace?"

To this all appeared to agree, and immediately they went to the wigwam of the hunter to challenge him or one of the Elks to a race. The hunter heard them coming, but remained lying on his mat. On appearing at the door, one of the Moose said, "We do not yet feel satisfied with our defeat, and wish to learn if you and your brother-in-law will run against two of our young men." The hunter replied that he was perfectly willing to run, and asked his eldest brother-in-law, who was the swiftest of the Elk people, to join him. The two soon prepared themselves and joined their friends, when both parties went out to the lake to prepare a track. This time the course was to extend all around the lake, near the shore, so that the goal should be at the starting point. It took both parties all day to clear the snow from the ice, and next morning the people gathered in crowds to see the sight—the Moose on the right bank and the Elk on the left.

The Moose felt certain of victory, for they claimed that the hunter had but two legs, whereas their favorites had four each. While the hunter was preparing himself, the Wolf suddenly approached him and said, "My brother, I will assist you in this race. As nobody but you can see me, I shall await you half-way on the course, when you will get astride of me and move your legs as if you were running, while I shall carry you along at greater speed; then you will meet the Fox, nearer the goal, who will carry you to the end of the course." The hunter was much elated at meeting his old friend, and at receiving such a timely offer of assistance.

The chief of the Moose people came toward the contestants as they were preparing to start, and said to them, "You will find a mist settling over the course about half-way around, but do not let that annoy you." This was said to discourage the champions of the Elks, and to inform the Moose runners that they might take advantage of any opportunities that might present themselves while they were passing through the mist.

The runners were now ready to start—two Moose to represent the Moose people, and the hunter and his eldest brother-in-law the choice of the Elk people. At a given signal they started away over the ice, the Moose soon widening the distance between themselves and their rivals. The brother-in-law of the hunter came next after the Moose, and last of all, and gradually losing, the hunter himself, who was last not because he could not run, but because he wanted the Moose people to think that he would lose the race, and finally cause them more chagrin at being deceived. When the runners approached the spreading mist, the Elk threw some snow back at the hunter to intimate that the Wolf was there awaiting him. So soon as the latter reached the point where the Wolf was he jumped astride the Wolf, and with his brother-in-law was soon far in advance of the Moose runners.

With every muscle strained the runners turned the half-point of the course and were speeding toward the goal. The Moose runners were again gaining on their competitors, but this did not last long, for the latter soon reached the Fox, when the hunter felt the Wolf slide from beneath him and the Fox take his place.

While the Elks' runners were apparently losing the race, the Moose people became greatly excited, and urged one another to start forward to attack the Elk people and whip them. The more thoughtful, however, hesitated, saying, "Wait; we will have plenty of time to punish them after the race." The Elk people, also, said to one another, "Now get your sticks and clubs ready to beat the Moose, for we shall surely win." So each side was watching the other, ready to make an attack so soon as the race was finished.

When the hunter felt the Fox beneath him, both the Elk runners were far behind the Moose, but now they started ahead, and with a tremendous rush they passed the Moose, reaching the goal first. Now there was a scamper of the Moose to their village, while the Elk people came on after them, whipping them all the way back.

The Moose were now thoroughly aroused at the frequent defeats with which they had met, and called together all of their people to hold council to decide on what they might next devise to bring destruction to the hunter and defeat to the Elk people.

One of the old Moose suggested that they all pass the hunter's wigwam so as to get him to shoot at them and exhaust himself, when he might be killed. The speaker said, "We will all pass his house tomorrow when he is taking his vapor bath, at which time he will have laid aside the wolf-claw bracelet, upon which his strength depends. After he has exhausted his arrows he will use his club, and that will soon tire him so much that our men can easily destroy him."

The Moose, being ma'nidos, knew what the hunter would do, especially after his success of that day; so all agreed to follow the plan which had been suggested.

When, after the race, the hunter returned to his wigwam he laid himself down to think of what he should do the next time the Moose came

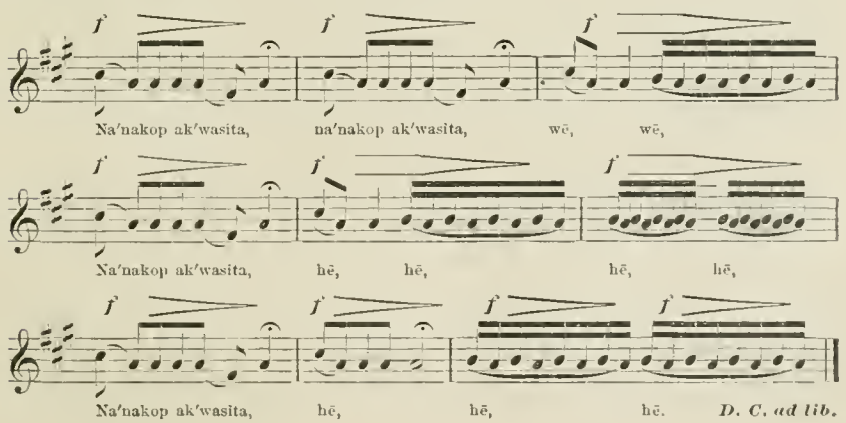
to propose a contest. He fell asleep and remained so until the next morning, when he removed his clothing and his wolf-claw bracelet preparatory to taking a vapor bath. He entered the little wigwam for this purpose while some of his family were heating stones to hand to him. After he had finished taking his vapor bath he returned to his wigwam, and while he was standing at the door he saw some moose approaching, which, as they passed the door, he shot with arrows. He did not know that they were the Moose people from the next village, and kept killing them as rapidly as he could until his last arrow was gone.

These Moose were not dead, however, for, being ma'nidos, they could resume their living form whenever they desired.

When the hunter had exhausted his arrows he went into the wigwam to get his club, when he again began to kill Moose as rapidly as they passed his door. The young Moose, the children, came by, when he began to strike them down, but became so exhausted that he felt as if he had to give up, but before doing so he spied a very old Moose coming along whom he hit upon the head, breaking his club. Then he cried, "I have lost my wolf-claw bracelet; where is it?" His wife and her brothers searched for it, but could nowhere find it. They were not aware that he had removed it in the vapor bath, a fact that he himself had forgotten.

At this moment his friend, the Wolf, came to his rescue, and began to tear the throats of the Moose: but soon becoming exhausted he cried to the hunter, "We are defeated; we might as well give up." Then the remaining Moose said, "Now, brothers, our time has come: let us kill him," and with that they attacked the hunter and cut him all to pieces.

The Moose then restored their people to life, and returned to their own village, highly elated that they had at last become rid of their rival and defeated their neighbors. Then the chief of the Moose said, "We have won, my friends; now let us gather together and celebrate the event:" whereupon they all got as near as possible to hear the song of the chief Moose, which was as follows:



The signification of the words is, that, "We have defeated him who always won."

While the Moose people were thus exulting in the destruction of the hunter, his young wife sat mourning and weeping in her wigwam with her head and body shrouded in a large robe. While she was thus weeping for her husband, the various ma'nidos heard her, and said to one another, "Let us visit the widow of Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitäv, and get her to take one of us as husband." They agreed, and the Wolf led them to her wigwam; but while they were deliberating over this plan she heard their words; so when the Fox came to where the young widow sat and said to her, "I have returned: I am your husband; take me," she replied, saying, "No, leave me; you are not my husband." Then the Fox pulled away the robe that covered her and threw some water in her face.

The woman then wept again at receiving such harsh treatment, but after a while she became pacified and went to sleep. On the next night the Rabbit came to her and said, "I have returned; I am your husband; take me." She paid no attention to this, but said, "No, leave; you are not my husband," whereupon the rabbit suddenly pulled the robe aside, exposing her face, and threw water on it.

Then she wept anew, lamenting her fate and the treatment she was receiving at the hands of the ma'nidos.

On the following night the Dog came to the young woman and said, "I have returned; I am your husband; take me." She would not look up to see who spoke, but replied, "No, leave me; you are not my husband." Then the Dog pulled aside the robe from her face and threw some water on it. Again she began her lamentations and continued to dwell upon her distress, until at last she fell asleep.

These three ma'nidos remained in the vicinity of the wigwam to see who would be so fortunate as to get the woman for his wife.

The hunter's mother-in-law was a very small old woman, who had a very small dog. The crone visited the spot where the hunter had been cut to pieces, and where there was still some blood on the ground; this the little dog licked up, but it made him eager to find more. While this was happening the old woman heard laughter in a wigwam a short distance away, on the side toward the Moose settlement. She approached very cautiously, and on peeping in the wigwam to see what was causing such merriment, she observed that the Moose women had congregated to talk and to eat the little pieces of the hunter's flesh which had been gathered. One old woman was eating the heel just as the little dog entered the wigwam, when one of her companions said to her, "Do you see that little dog? He looks so angry that I believe he will bite you;" and before she could reply the little dog had sprung upon her and bitten her, and in the excitement the canine snatched up the heel-bone with his jaws and escaped to where the hunter had been cut to pieces. The dog had congregated a great number of the

Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ˅, the Good Thunder ma′nidos, and as he brought the heel-bone of the right foot, Kâkâ′ke (the crow) took it and said, "I will throw this upon the ground four times, and at the fourth time the hunter will rise from the dead." Then the Crow took the bone, and raising it in the air as high as he could, threw it forcibly down before him upon the ground, saying, "Nanǫ′kupä′qkweni′sitä˅, arise from the dead." As the bone struck the ground, the Wolf was heard to howl.

Again the Crow took up the bone and threw it upon the ground, saying, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä˅, arise from the dead." The Wolf howled again. The Crow took up the bone the third time and threw it upon the ground, saying, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä˅, arise from the dead." The Wolf howled louder and nearer than before, while the Crow took up the bone a fourth time, and throwing it upon the ground said, as before, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä˅, arise from the dead!" As the bone struck the ground, the form of the hunter appeared to them just as he had been before. Then the ma′nidos flew away, glad that they had restored their brother to life.

The hunter heard the Moose women who had congregated to eat his flesh, so he went near to where they were seated, and said, "Now you may prepare yourselves, for in a very little while I shall destroy every one of you and your people," after which he went toward his own wigwam where his wife sat weeping. As he approached her, he said, "I have come now; I have risen from the dead:" but his wife replied by saying, "No, you are not my husband; I have been deceived before, and I will not look at you." To this the hunter answered, "Yes, it is I; I am your husband," when, hearing the familiar voice, she looked to see whether it was true that her husband had really risen from the dead, and seeing him before her she was overcome with joy.

After the young wife had told her husband how the Moose folk had treated her people, he became greatly angered and threatened to punish them in such a manner that the Elk people would henceforth be able to live in peace. He thereupon went into the woods to select willow twigs with which to make arrowshafts, and wood for a bow, and another piece to furnish him with a strong warclub. He spent two days in this work, and when he had finished he had four very powerful arrows which were to render him good service.

One day while the hunter was occupied near his wigwam he heard some one coming through the brush. Looking in the direction whence came the sound of cracking twigs, he saw a young Moose who had come to take his wife. When the Moose saw that the hunter was there and prepared to protect his wife, he ran away as fast as he could, but the hunter was enraged and immediately ran into the wigwam, grasped his weapons and followed the Moose to punish him.

The Moose people heard that something unusual was occurring, and when they saw the young Moose returning at full speed toward their settlement, followed by the hunter, they realized the danger they were

in. The elder ones thereupon said to one another, "Here comes the hunter, and he will now surely kill us all; let us leave this place and take up our abode elsewhere." Then the Moose people started in a body to escape, but the hunter attacked them, dealing death in every direction, and following them until but two of them remained alive. These he captured, the hunter saying to them, "Now, you find yourselves in this cedar swamp, where you must hereafter live and feed upon the mosimin (willows); this will be your food for all time." While saying this to the Moose he placed some willow twigs to their mouths to let them know how they tasted and what they thereafter would have to subsist on.

Then the hunter returned to his wigwam, and his adopted people were thenceforth left in peace.

THE YOUNG MAN AND THE BEARS

The youngest of the three brothers at whose home Mä'näbŭsh had been staying, and who had accomplished the exploits of destroying most of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ and of restoring his two elder brothers to liberty, now decided to go away, because both he and his sister feared that the surviving bears of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ would visit them and do them injury in revenge for what the boy hunter had done to their people. The sister urged her brother to go, and gave him her shakipan (a stone ornament which she wore in her hair) and a large handful of blueberries. These things he was to use as she instructed him, at a time which would come when every other means of self-preservation failed.

The boy hunter still had her four arrows—the one with which he had set afire a large tree, another with which he had broken open the stone wigwam of the bear ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, and two others which were to become of great use to him. Then he started away in a direction new to him, to find a place where he might live in safety.

While he was leisurely going along one day, he heard behind him a peculiar sound, as of many footsteps. Looking back, he beheld some bears following him, and he at once realized that the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ had discovered his trail, and that they were now in pursuit of him. He began to run, crying out, "What shall I do? The ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ have found my tracks, and are after me!" The country in which he was now passing was an apparently endless prairie, with nothing growing upon it but short grass; but as he flew onward he heard a voice, which said, "So soon as the bears catch you they will kill you; now you must use your arrows." Immediately the boy hunter remembered that he had his weapons and the articles which his sister had given him. Taking an arrow from his quiver, he fixed it to his bowstring, and as he was about to shoot it into the air before him he said to the arrow, "When you come down, there shall be about you a copse covering an area as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

Away flew the arrow, and the moment it struck and entered the earth there was a small hole in the ground, around which sprung up a dense growth of brush. The little boy ran to the hole, crawled into it, and then went to the edge of the brush, where he came up and hid by the side of a tree which also had sprung out of the ground. As the bears came to the spot where they had seen the boy disappear, they began to tear up the brush until not a piece remained standing. Not finding the hunter, the bears began to search for his last footprints, and finding that they terminated at the hole made by the arrow they at once followed him. As the bears were now in close pursuit of the boy, he again disappeared in the ground and started away until he had got quite a distance from the tree, when he again emerged and started to run away along the prairie.

By the time the bears reached the tree where the boy had rested for a moment, they were again delayed in trailing him, but they finally succeeded in tracking him out to the prairie, where they espied him running in the distance. They immediately set out in pursuit, but it was a long time before they neared him. When the bears approached, the hunter took his second arrow, and shooting it into the air before him, said to it, "When you come down there shall be about you a copse as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

When the arrow descended and entered the earth there appeared a dense undergrowth which completely hid the boy, who then went to the hole, crawled into it, and traveled along in the ground until he had passed beyond the end of the copse, where he emerged and hid by a tree which also had sprung up.

As before, the bears were infuriated at the escape of the boy, and tore up the brush in every direction in their search for him. Finally they discovered the arrow hole, which they entered. Following the footsteps of the boy they soon found the place where he had taken refuge, but before they reached him he found himself pursued, and, again diving under the surface, he started away for some distance, when he emerged from beneath the ground and started away over the prairie as before. A second time were the bears baffled, and by the time they found the footprints of the boy he was far off. They at once started in pursuit, and as the boy began to tire a little the bears gained rapidly on him, until he found that the only way to escape was to use his third arrow. Taking the shaft from his quiver and fitting it to his bowstring, he aimed upward into the air before him and said, "When you come down there shall be about you a copse as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

The arrow descended, making a hole in the ground as before, and a copse appeared all around it, hiding it from view. The boy at once went down into the hole and away to the edge of the copse, where he ascended to the surface and hid near one of the trees which had sprung up at his command.

When the bears reached the spot where the boy had disappeared they were more angry than before, and soon tore up every bit of the growing brush. They then discovered where his footprints ended, and at once entered the arrow hole and followed him. When the boy heard the bears following his tracks, he again disappeared beneath the surface and did not emerge until he had traveled some distance along under the prairie, when he once more came to the surface and ran with all his might.

The bears were again delayed when they reached the tree where the boy had rested, but after finding the course he had taken they started in pursuit, ascending to the surface of the prairie, where they saw the boy far in the distance.

The chase was a long one, and in time the boy began to tire and the bears to gain on him, so that he was compelled to take his last arrow, which he fixed to the string of his bow and shot into the air, saying, "When you come down there shall be about you a marsh filled with pe'onas'kinŭk (cat-tails), from the middle of which there shall be a trail: by that shall I escape."

When the arrow descended the boy found himself in the midst of a large marsh, and from his feet forward a trail of firm ground, which enabled him to continue running whilst the bears struggled in the mud and amongst the cat-tails. After a while the bears also found the trail, and renewed their pursuit of the boy, giving him no opportunity for a moment's rest. As they neared him, the bears shouted, "We are now close upon you, and in a short time we will catch you and kill you!" Then the boy remembered the stone which his sister had given him, and taking it out of his pouch he put it in a strip of buckskin and slung it round several times above his head, then threw it forward on the prairie, saying, "As I sling this it will cause a long high rock to appear, upon which I shall take refuge." The little stone bounded and rolled along over the ground and suddenly became transformed into a steep, high cliff with a flat top and with many loose stones lying about the edge. As the boy reached the cliff he clambered to the summit and looked over the edge to watch the bears. The bears ran around the base, looking for the boy everywhere, and when they appeared beneath the boy, he began to roll over the large loose stones upon them, killing a great many and breaking the bones and otherwise disabling others. While the unharmed bears, who were even more astonished at what had transpired, went to look at their killed and wounded companions, the boy hastily descended on the opposite side of the cliff and started out in a new direction to escape.

After gazing awhile at their dead and wounded companions the unmaimed bears began to look for the boy, but neither hearing nor seeing him they suspected that he had escaped, and at once began to search for footprints leading away from the rock. When these were found, the bears followed in pursuit until they were almost certain of capturing their enemy.

Now the bears had not eaten anything for a long time, and they began to feel very hungry; but there was nothing in sight that they could devour save the boy, so they tried their utmost to catch him, and were slowly gaining on him when he remembered the blueberries which his sister had given him. These he took from his pouch, and threw them into the air, scattering them far and wide, and said, "When you fall to the ground there shall be blueberries growing everywh re; these will deliver me." When the berries fell, surely enough there instantly appeared blueberry bushes laden with fruit, which caused the bears to stop. They were so eager to eat that they entirely forgot the boy until they could eat no more; they then remembered what they had contemplated doing when they first set out. One old bear, observing dissatisfaction among his friends, said, "My brothers, we had better give up the chase; the boy is merely a mystery. Let us stop and live here, for here we shall have sufficient food without digging for it." To this the rest of the bears assented; so here they made their home.

Shu′nien subsequently added the following relative to the exploits of the boy hunter:

Thus ended the troubles of the boy hunter. After escaping from the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ he continued to travel leisurely toward Wapaka, where he made a large flat-top black rock, upon which is a large three-leg bowlder, called, on account of this, Asanashoqkadet. At the base of this large rock is a river, called Wapä′kasē′pe (Wapaka river). Another thing the boy hunter made near this place. He made a long high ridge, which he covered with kennshi shikepni (dwarf willows). On this ridge the boy hunter also placed a large three-leg rock.

At the mouth of the Wapä′kasē′pe—that is, where it empties into Wolf river—are six tall pines, which were once people. They are called Wapä′kaini′nᵉ (Wapaka men).

Mä′näbŭsh had remained at the wigwam with the young girl and her two elder brothers for a long time, and he it was who had aided the young hunter in successfully defeating the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ—both at the mountain when releasing his brothers, and afterward in himself escaping them after he left his sister.

Mä′näbŭsh now departed, and when he reached Mä′kinäk he made a high narrow rock, which he placed leaning against the cliff. This rock is as high as an arrow can be shot from a bow. At this place Mä′näbŭsh was seen by his people for the last time. Before taking leave of them he said, "My friends, I am going to leave you now; I have been badly treated—not by you, but by other people who live in the land about you. I shall go toward the rising sun, across a great water, where there is a land of rocks. There shall I take up my abode. Whenever you build a mitä′wikŏ′mik and are there gathered together you will think of me. When you mention my name I shall hear you.

Whatever you may attempt in my name shall come to pass; and whatever you may ask, that will I do."

When Mä'näbŭsh had thus spoken to his friends, he got into a canoe and disappeared over the great water toward the rising sun.

THE RABBIT AND THE SAW-WHET

In the following myth the origin of day and night is accounted for, as well as the selection, by various animals and birds, of the particular kinds of food which they now eat. The cause of the bare neck and head of the buzzard is also related, as this bird had an adventure with Mä'näbŭsh which was never forgotten.

One time as Wabŭs' (the rabbit) was traveling along through the forest, he came to a clearing on the bank of a river, where he saw, perched on a twig, Totoba, the Saw-whet owl. The light was obscure, and the Rabbit could not see very well, so he said to the Saw-whet, "Why do you want it so dark? I do not like it, so I will cause it to be daylight." Then the Saw-whet said, "If you are powerful enough, do so. Let us try our powers, and whoever succeeds may decide as he prefers."

Then the Rabbit and the Owl called together all the birds and the beasts to witness the contest, and when they had assembled the two informed them what was to occur. Some of the birds and beasts wanted the Rabbit to succeed, that it might be light; others wished the Saw-whet to win the contest, that it might remain dark.

Then both the Rabbit and the Saw-whet began, the former repeating rapidly the words "wâ'bon, wâ'bon" (light, light), while the Owl kept repeating "uni'tipa'qkot, uni'tipa'qkot" (night, night). Should one of them make a mistake and repeat his opponent's word, the erring one would lose. So the Rabbit kept on saying, "wâ'bon, wâ'bon," and the Saw-whet "uni'tipa'qkot, uni'tipa'qkot," each being watched and urged by his followers; but finally the Owl accidentally repeated after the Rabbit the word "wâbon," when he lost and surrendered the contest.

The Rabbit then decided that it should be light; but he granted that night should have a chance for the benefit of the vanquished. This proving satisfactory, they decided that the various birds and beasts should select the kind of food on which they would thereafter subsist.

The Rabbit saw Owa'sse (the bear), and asked him what food he would select. The Bear replied, "I will select acorns and fruit as my food." Then the Rabbit asked the Fish-hawk, "Fish-hawk, what will you select as your food?" The Fish-hawk responded, "I will take that fellow lying in the water, the Sucker." Then the Sucker said, "You may eat me if you are stronger than I, but that we must decide." Then the Sucker swam out into the deepest part of the river and lay on the bottom, where the Fish-hawk could not reach him by diving. The Fish-hawk then rose into the air and took such a position

that his shadow fell on the spot where the Sucker had taken refuge. While hovering thus the Fish-hawk saw the Sucker becoming restless, and the latter, seeing the shadow of a large bird on the bed of the stream, became alarmed at it, for he thought it might be some evil ma'nido, and slowly rose toward the surface. This was just what the Fish-hawk desired to accomplish, and so soon as the Sucker had come within a short distance of the surface the Fish-hawk pounced on him, caught him in his claws, and took him away to devour him.

The Rabbit then looked around him and espied Moqwai'o (the wolf), and, calling him to come nearer, asked him, "Moqwai'o, what will you select as your food?" The Wolf replied, "I will select the Deer." But the Deer replied, "You can not eat me, because I am too fleet for you." The Wolf said they would decide that, and both made preparations for a race. The Deer sped away, followed by the Wolf. The latter still wore his fur robe, hence the Deer gradually increased the space between them after they had run for a great distance. The Wolf soon found that he could not catch the Deer the way in which he was running, so he threw off his robe, discharged a quantity of excrement, and bolted ahead, soon capturing the Deer, which he ate.

Then another Deer—one of the same totem—was asked by the Rabbit: "Deer, what will you select as food?"

The Deer replied, "I will eat people; there are many Indians in the country, and I will subsist on them."

"But," exclaimed the other birds and animals present, "the Indian is too powerful; you will never be able to eat people."

"Well," returned the Deer, "I will select them anyhow." and started away.

It happened that at one time when an Indian was out hunting in the forest he discovered the tracks of a deer, which made a large circuit to the right. He followed these tracks, and on returning to the place at which he had first seen them he observed that they took a course toward the left and made another large circuit. He followed the tracks in this direction, and when he returned to the place where he had first seen them he observed that a deer was following him; so he posted himself at a place where he might get a good view of the animal.

The Deer was fully determined to catch the Indian and eat him, and to accomplish this he pulled a rib from each of his sides and stuck them into his lower jaw to represent tusks. The Deer came along looking for the Indian, and when the latter saw the quadruped coming toward him he raised his bow, and, pulling a strong arrow let it fly with such force and precision as to pass entirely through its body.

The hunter then took the Deer and cut off the meat, which he carried to his wigwam. Then the shade of the Deer went back to the gathering of birds and animals, and told them what had happened. "You see," said the Rabbit, "you are not strong enough to kill people for food, so you will have to resort to grass and twigs."

Then the birds and animals asked the Rabbit what he had selected to eat, and the Rabbit replied, "I will subsist on poplar sprouts."

The Rabbit then asked the Sturgeon. "Sturgeon, what are you going to select for your sustenance?"

"I will live on the clay which you see here in the river," responded the Sturgeon. This may be why the Sturgeon is so yellow.

Next the Rabbit said to the Buzzard, "Buzzard, what will you choose for food?" The Buzzard replied, "I will live on fish and animals that have died and become soft; they will be my food."

Thus the birds and beasts selected the various kinds of food on which they were to live, and when the council was over each went his own way.

While the Buzzard was soaring away through the air he saw Mä'näbŭsh walking along. He flew a little toward the ground, with his wings outspread, and heard Mä'näbŭsh say to him, "Buzzard, you must be very happy up there where you can soar through the air and see what is transpiring in the world beneath. Take me on your back so that I may ascend with you and see how it appears down here from where you live." The Buzzard came down, and said, "Mä'näbŭsh, get on my back and I will take you up into the sky to let you see how the world appears from my abode." Mä'näbŭsh approached the Buzzard, but seeing how smooth his back appeared said, "Buzzard, I am afraid you will let me slide from your back, so you must be careful not to sweep around too rapidly, that I may retain my place upon your back." The Buzzard told Mä'näbŭsh that he would be careful, although the bird was determined to play a trick on him if possible. Mä'näbŭsh mounted the Buzzard and held on to his feathers as well as he could. The Buzzard took a short run, leaped from the ground, spread his wings and rose into the air. Mä'näbŭsh felt rather timid as the Buzzard swept through the air, and as he circled around his body leaned so much that Mä'näbŭsh could scarcely retain his position, and he was afraid of slipping off. Presently, as Mä'näbŭsh was looking down upon the broad earth below, the Buzzard made a sharp curve to one side so that his body leaned more than ever. Mä'näbŭsh, losing his grasp, slipped off and dropped to earth like an arrow. He struck the ground with such force as to knock him senseless. The Buzzard returned to his place in the sky, but hovered around to see what would become of Mä'näbŭsh.

Mä'näbŭsh lay a long time like one dead. When he recovered he saw something close to and apparently staring him in the face. He could not at first recognize it, but when he put his hands against the object he found that it was his own buttocks, because he had been all doubled up. He arose and prepared to go on his way, when he espied the Buzzard above him, laughing at his own trickery.

Mä'näbŭsh then said, "Buzzard, you have played a trick on me by letting me fall, but as I am more powerful than you I shall revenge

myself." The Buzzard then replied, "No, Mä'näbŭsh, you will not do anything of the kind, because you can not deceive me. I shall watch you."

Mä'näbŭsh kept on, and the Buzzard, not noticing anything peculiar in the movements of Mä'näbŭsh, flew on his way through the air. Mä'näbŭsh then decided to transform himself into a dead deer, because he knew the Buzzard had chosen to subsist on dead animals and fish. Mä'näbŭsh then went to a place visible from a great distance and from many directions, where he laid himself down and changed himself into the carcass of a deer. Soon the various birds and beasts and crawling things that subsist on such food began to congregate about the dead deer. The Buzzard saw the birds flying toward the place where the body lay, and joined them. He flew around several times to see if it was Mä'näbŭsh trying to deceive him, then thought to himself, "No, that is not Mä'näbŭsh; it is truly a dead deer." He then approached the body and began to pick a hole into the fleshy part of the thigh. Deeper and deeper into the flesh the Buzzard picked until his head and neck were buried each time he reached in to pluck the fat from the intestines. Without warning, while the Buzzard had his head completely hidden in the carcass of the deer, the deer jumped up and pinched together his flesh, thus firmly grasping the head and neck of the Buzzard. Then Mä'näbŭsh said, "Aha! Buzzard, I did catch you after all, as I told you I would. Now pull out your head." The Buzzard with great difficulty withdrew his head from the cavity in which it had been inclosed, but the feathers were all pulled off, leaving his scalp and neck covered with nothing but red skin. Then Mä'näbŭsh said to the bird, "Thus do I punish you for your deceitfulness; henceforth you will go through the world without feathers on your head and neck, and you shall always stink because of the food you will be obliged to eat." That is why the buzzard is such a bad-smelling fellow, and why his head and neck are featherless.

MÄ'NÄBŬSH AND THE BIRDS

The following is a translation of a myth given by Nio'pet, and is a variant of that furnished above by Shu'nien. The present narrative also pretends to account for the origin of the word Winnebago.

While Mä'näbŭsh was once walking along a lake shore, tired and hungry, he observed a long, narrow sandbar, which extended far out into the water, around which were myriads of waterfowl, so Mä'näbŭsh decided to have a feast. He had with him only his medicine bag; so he entered the brush and hung it upon a tree, now called "Mä'näbŭsh tree," and procured a quantity of bark, which he rolled into a bundle and placing it upon his back, returned to the shore, where he pretended to pass slowly by in sight of the birds. Some of the Swans and Ducks, however, recognizing Mä'näbŭsh and becoming frightened, moved away from the shore.

One of the Swans called out, "Ho! Mä'näbŭsh, where are you going?" To this Mä'näbŭsh replied, "I am going to have a song. As you may see, I have all my songs with me." Mä'näbŭsh then called out to the birds, "Come to me, my brothers, and let us sing and dance." The birds assented and returned to the shore, when all retreated a short distance away from the lake to an open space where they might dance. Mä'näbŭsh removed the bundle of bark from his back and placed it on the ground, got out his singing-sticks, and said to the birds, "Now, all of you dance around me as I drum; sing as loudly as you can, and keep your eyes closed. The first one to open his eyes will forever have them red and sore." Mä'näbŭsh began to beat time upon his bundle of bark, while the birds, with eyes closed, circled around him singing as loudly as they could. Keeping time with one hand, Mä'näbŭsh suddenly grasped the neck of a Swan, which he broke; but before he had killed the bird it screamed out, whereupon Mä'näbŭsh said, "That's right, brothers, sing as loudly as you can." Soon another Swan fell a victim; then a Goose, and so on until the number of birds was greatly reduced. Then the "Hell-diver," opening his eyes to see why there was less singing than at first, and beholding Mä'näbŭsh and the heap of victims, cried out, "Mä'näbŭsh is killing us! Mä'näbŭsh is killing us!" and immediately ran to the water, followed by the remainder of the birds.

As the "Hell-diver" was a poor runner, Mä'näbŭsh soon overtook him, and said, "I won't kill you, but you shall always have red eyes and be the laughing-stock of all the birds." With this he gave the bird a kick, sending him far out into the lake and knocking off his tail, so that the "Hell-diver" is red-eyed and tailless to this day.

Mä'näbŭsh then gathered up his birds, and taking them out upon the sandbar buried them—some with their heads protruding, others with the feet sticking out of the sand. He then built a fire to cook the game, but as this would require some time, and as Mä'näbŭsh was tired after his exertion, he stretched himself on the ground to sleep. In order to be informed if anyone approached, he slapped his thigh and said to it, "You watch the birds, and awaken me if anyone should come near them." Then, with his back to the fire, he fell asleep.

After awhile a party of Indians came along in their canoes, and seeing the feast in store, went to the sandbar and pulled out every bird which Mä'näbŭsh had so carefully placed there, but put back the heads and feet in such a way that there was no indication that the bodies had been disturbed. When the Indians had finished eating they departed, taking with them all the food that remained from the feast.

Some time afterward, Mä'näbŭsh awoke, and, being very hungry, bethought himself to enjoy the fruits of his stratagem. In attempting to pull a baked swan from the sand he found nothing but the head and neck, which he held in his hand. Then he tried another, and found the body of that bird also gone. So he tried another, and then another, but each time met with disappointment. Who could have robbed him?

he thought. He struck his thigh and asked, "Who has been here to rob me of my feast; did I not command you to watch while I slept?" His thigh responded, "I also fell asleep, as I was very tired; but I see some people moving rapidly away in their canoes; perhaps they were the thieves. I see also they are very dirty and poorly dressed." Then Mä'näbŭsh ran out to the point of the sandbar, and beheld the people in their canoes, just disappearing around a point of land. Then he called to them and reviled them, calling them "Winnibē'go! Winnibē'go!" And by this term the Menomini have ever since designated their thievish neighbors.

A similar story concerning the exploits of Mä'näbŭsh was related to me by the Ojibwa of both White Earth and Red Lake, Minnesota. In this story the short tail of the "hell-diver" (*Podiceps*) is accounted for. A similar myth, obtained from the Selish, of Idaho, nominates the coyote as the one to carry on his back the music, or rather "songs," with which he subsequently induces the birds to dance, succeeds in pulling out the tail of the "hell-diver," and in giving the latter red eyes in punishment for his curiosity.

KAKU'ÈNE, THE JUMPER, AND THE ORIGIN OF TOBACCO

The following myth was related by Nio'pet, and explains how the Indians first obtained tobacco.

One day Mä'näbŭsh was passing by a high mountain, when he detected a delightful odor which seemed to come from a crevice in the cliffs. On going closer he found the mountain inhabited by a giant who was known to be the keeper of the tobacco. Mä'näbŭsh then went to the mouth of a cavern, which he entered, and following the passage which led down into the very center of the mountain he found a large chamber occupied by the giant, who asked him in a very stern manner what he wanted. Mä'näbŭsh replied that he had come for some tobacco, but the giant replied that he would have to come again in one year from that time, as the ma'nidos had just been there for their smoke, and that the ceremony occurred but once a year. Mä'näbŭsh, on looking around the chamber, observed a great number of bags filled with tobacco. One of these he snatched and with it darted out of the mountain, closely pursued by the giant. Mä'näbŭsh ascended to the mountain tops and leaped from peak to peak, but the giant followed so rapidly that when Mä'näbŭsh reached a certain prominent peak, the opposite side of which was a high vertical cliff, he suddenly laid flat on the rocks while the giant leaped over him and down into the chasm beyond. The giant was much bruised, but he managed to climb up the face of the cliff until he almost reached the summit, where he hung, as all his fingernails had been worn off. Then Mä'näbŭsh grasped the giant by the back, and, drawing him upward, threw him violently to the ground and

said, "For your meanness you shall become Kaku'ĕne ('the jumper'—grasshopper), and you shall be known by your stained mouth. You shall become the pest of those who raise tobacco."

Then Mä'näbŭsh took the tobacco and divided it amongst his brothers and younger brothers, giving to each some of the seed, that they might never be without this plant for their use and enjoyment.

THE SEARCH FOR MÄ'NÄBŬSH

The following is the concluding myth relating to Mä'näbŭsh, and it purports to account for the place of his abode. It is based on the myth related in connection with the ritual of the Mitä'wit, where the seven hunters made a visit to Mä'näbŭsh to ask favors. The following tale was told by Shu'nien:

One time, long after Mä'näbŭsh had gone away from his people, an Indian dreamed that Mä'näbŭsh spoke to him. Then the Indian awoke, and when daylight came he sought seven of his mitä'ʷ friends, the chief ones of the Mitä'wit. Then they held a council among themselves, at which it was decided that they go in search of Mä'näbŭsh and make him a visit. The Indian who had dreamed of Mä'näbŭsh then blackened his face, and they all started away to the shore of the great water, where they entered canoes and went toward the rocky land, in the direction of the rising sun. After a long time they reached the shore of the land where Mä'näbŭsh dwelt. Getting out of their canoes, which they pulled up on shore, they started to find his wigwam. They soon reached it, and, approaching the entrance, they beheld Mä'näbŭsh, who bade them enter. The door of the wigwam moved up and down, and each time one of the Indians entered the wigwam the door came down and closed the entrance, when it again lifted to allow the next one to enter. When all had thus entered and seated themselves about Mä'näbŭsh, he said to them, "My friends, why is it you have come so long a journey to see me; what is it you wish?" Then all save one responded, "Mä'näbŭsh, we are very desirous of procuring some hunting medicine, that we may be enabled to supply our people with plenty of food."

"That you shall have," replied Mä'näbŭsh: and, turning to the one who had not joined in the request, said to him, "What is it that you desire?"

To this the Indian replied, "I do not desire hunting medicine, but I wish you to give me everlasting life." Then Mä'näbŭsh went to where the Indian sat, and taking him up by the shoulders carried him to where he usually slept, where he put him down, saying, "You shall be a stone; thus you will be everlasting." The others, seeing what had occurred, took leave of Mä'näbŭsh and went down to the shore, where they got into their canoes and returned home.

From the seven who returned we have this story of the abode of Mä'näbŭsh.

The following statement was given to the late Reverend Father De Smet[1], by Potogojecs, a Potawatomi chief of reputed intelligence, viz:

"Many of us believe that there are two Great Spirits who govern the universe, but who are constantly at war with each other. One is called the Kchemnito, that is, the Great Spirit; the other Mchemnito, or the Wicked Spirit. The first is goodness itself, and his beneficent influence is felt everywhere; but the second is wickedness personified, and does nothing but evil. Some believe that they are equally powerful, and through fear of the Wicked Spirit, offer to him their homage and adoration. Others, again, are doubtful which of them should be considered the more powerful, and accordingly endeavor to propitiate both by offering to each an appropriate worship.

"A great manitou came on earth and chose a wife from among the children of men. He had four sons at a birth; the first born was called Nanaboojoo, the friend of the human race, the mediator between man and the Great Spirit; the second was named Chipiapoos, the man of the dead, who presides over the country of the souls; the third, Wabosso, as soon as he saw the light, fled towards the north, where he was changed into a white rabbit, and under that name is considered there as a great manitou; the fourth was Chakekenapok, the man of flint or firestone. In coming into the world he caused the death of his mother.

"Nanaboojoo, having arrived at the age of manhood, resolved to avenge the death of his mother (for among us revenge is considered honorable); he pursued Chakekenapok all over the globe. Whenever he could come within reach of his brother he fractured some member of his body, and after several rencounters finally destroyed him by tearing out his entrails. All fragments broken from the body of this man of stone then grew up into large rocks; his entrails were changed into vines of every species and took deep root in all the forests; the flint-stones scattered around the earth indicate where the different combats took place. Before fire was introduced among us, Nanaboojoo taught our ancestors how to form hatchets, lances, and the points of arrows, in order to assist us in killing our enemies in war and animals for our food. Nanaboojoo and his brother Chipiapoos lived together retired from the rest of mankind and were distinguished from all other beings by their superior qualities of body and mind. The manitous that dwell in the air, as well as those who inhabit the earth and the waters, envied the power of these brothers and conspired to destroy them. Nanaboojoo discovered and eluded their snares and warned Chipiapoos not to separate himself from him a single moment. Notwithstanding this admonition, Chipiapoos ventured alone one day upon Lake Michigan; the manitous broke the ice and he sank to the bottom, where they hid the body. Nanaboojoo became inconsolable when he missed his brother from his lodge; he sought him everywhere in vain; he waged war

[1] Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845–46, New York, 1847, pp. 344, 345.

against all the manitous and precipitated an infinite number of them into the deepest abyss. He then wept, disfigured his person, and covered his head as a sign of his grief during six years, pronouncing from time to time in sad and mournful tones, the name of the unhappy Chipiapoos.

"While this truce continued, the manitous consulted upon the means best calculated to appease the anger of Nanaboojoo, without, however, coming to any conclusion: when four of the oldest and wisest, who had had no hand in the death of Chipiapoos, offered to accomplish the difficult task. They built a lodge close to that of Nanaboojoo, prepared an excellent repast, and filled a calumet with the most exquisite tobacco. They journeyed in silence towards their redoubted enemy, each carrying under his arm a bag, formed of the entire skin of some animal—an otter, a lynx, or a beaver—well provided with the most precious medicines (to which, in their superstitious practices, they attach a supernatural power). With many kind expressions they begged that he would condescend to accompany them. He arose immediately, uncovered his head, washed himself, and followed them. When arrived at their lodge, they offered him a cup containing a dose of their medicine, preparatory to his initiation. Nanaboojoo swallowed the contents at a single draft, and found himself completely restored. They then commenced their dances and their songs; they also applied their medicine bags, which, after gently blowing them at him, they would then cast on the ground. At each fall of the medicine bag, Nanaboojoo perceived that his melancholy, sadness, hatred, and anger disappeared, and affections of an opposite nature took possession of his soul. They all joined in the dance and song—they ate and smoked together. Nanaboojoo thanked them for having initiated him into the mysteries of their grand medicine.

"The manitous brought back the lost Chipiapoos, but it was forbidden him to enter the lodge. He received, through a chink, a burning coal, and was ordered to go and preside over the region of souls, and there, for the happiness of his uncles and aunts—that is, for all men and women who should repair thither—kindle with this coal a fire which should never be extinguished.

"Nanaboojoo then redescended upon earth, and, by order of the Great Spirit, initiated all his family in the mysteries of the grand medicine. He procured for each of them a bag well furnished with medicines, giving them strict orders to perpetuate these ceremonies among their descendants, adding at the same time, that these practices, religiously observed, would cure their maladies, procure them abundance in the chase, and give them complete victory over their enemies. (All their religion consists in these superstitious practices, dances, and songs; they have the most implicit faith in these strange reveries.)

"Nanaboojoo is our principal intercessor with the Great Spirit. He it was that obtained for us the creation of animals for our food and raiment. He has caused to grow those roots and herbs which are

endowed with the virtue of curing our maladies, and of enabling us in the time of famine to kill the wild animals. He has left the care of them to Mesakkummikokwi, the great-grandmother of the human race; and in order that we should never invoke her in vain, it has been strictly enjoined on the old woman never to quit the dwelling. Hence, when an Indian makes a collection of roots and herbs which are to serve him as medicines, he deposits at the same time on the earth a small offering to Mesakkummikokwi. During his different excursions over the surface of the earth, Nanaboojoo killed all such animals as were hurtful to us, as the mastodon, the mammoth, etc. He has placed four beneficial spirits at the four cardinal points of the earth for the purpose of contributing to the happiness of the human race. That of the north procures for us ice and snow, in order to aid us in discovering and following the wild animals. That of the south gives us that which occasions the growth of our pumpkins, melons, maize, and tobacco. The spirit placed at the west gives us rain, and that of the east gives us light and commands the sun to make his daily walks around the globe. The thunder we hear is the voice of spirits, having the form of large birds, which Nanaboojoo has placed in the clouds. When they cry very loud, we burn some tobacco in our cabins to make them a smoke-offering and appease them.

"Nanaboojoo yet lives, resting himself after his labors upon an immense flake of ice in the Great Lake (the North Sea). We fear that the whites will one day discover his retreat and drive him off. Then the end of the world is at hand, for as soon as he puts foot on the earth the whole universe will take fire, and every living creature will perish in the flames!"

This narrative, though brief, appears to touch a number of myths related in the present memoir as pertaining directly to the Menomini, which will be recognized by the reader.

FOLKTALES

The following myths do not relate to Mä'näbŭsh, but are the folktales recited by the old Indians during the long winter evenings to account for various phenomena, instances of prowess, and combats with the evil beings of the underworld or the ânâ'maqkĭ'ñ. The accompanying three myths were related by Shn'nieu. The first one accounts for the moon's phases; the second for the cause of the aurora borealis, and the third relates to meteors.

THE MOON

Once on a time Kē'so, the Sun, and his sister, Tĭpā'kē'so, the Moon ("last-night sun") lived together in a wigwam in the east. The Sun dressed himself to go hunting, took his bow and arrows and left. He was absent such a long time that when his sister came out into the sky to look for her brother she became alarmed. She traveled twenty

days looking for the Sun; but finally he returned, bringing with him a bear which he had shot.

The Sun's sister still comes up into the sky and travels for twenty days; then she dies, and for four days nothing is seen of her. At the end of that time, however, she returns to life and travels twenty days more.

The Sun is a being like ourselves. Whenever an Indian dreams of him he plucks out his hair and wears an otter skin about his head, over the forehead. This the Indian does because the Sun wears an otter skin about his head.[1]

THE AURORA BOREALIS

In the direction of the north wind live the manabai'wok (giants), of whom we have heard our old people tell. The manabai'wok are our friends, but we do not see them any more. They are great hunters and fishermen, and whenever they are out with their torches to spear fish we know it, because then the sky is bright over the place where they are.

METEORS

When a star falls from the sky, it leaves a fiery trail; it does not die, but its shade goes back to the place whence it dropped to shine again. The Indians sometimes find the small stars in the prairie where they have fallen. They are of stone, and are round, with a spot in the center, and four or five small points projecting from the surface. I have myself found some of these fallen stars.

The following myths are self-explanatory and require no comment except in instances where comparison with parallel myths of the Ojibwa or other closely allied tribes may be of special value or interest. They were obtained chiefly from Shu'nien, Nio'pet, Wai'ŏs'kasĭt, and other prominent Menomini, and to the ethnologist present some curious flights of fancy.

The first is called Kitä'mi, the Porcupine, or the punishment for disrespect and cruelty.

THE PORCUPINE

There was once a village in which dwelt two sisters who were considered the swiftest runners in the Menomini tribe. Toward the setting sun was another village, though so far away that an ordinary walker would have to travel two days to reach it. Once these two sisters decided to visit the distant village; so, starting out, they ran at great speed until nearly noon, when they came to a hollow tree lying across the trail.

Snow was on the ground, and the sisters saw the track of a Porcupine leading to the hollow of the trunk. One of them broke off a stick and began to poke it into the cavity to make the Porcupine come

[1] Shu nien stated that in his youth he had seen eight such dreamers who had plucked the hair from the scalp and wore otter-skin bands about the head. The custom is now obsolete.

out, saying, "Let us have some fun with him." "No, my sister," said the other, "he is a ma'nido, and we had better let him alone." The former, however, continued to drive the Porcupine farther and farther through the trunk until at last he came out, when she caught him and pulled all the long quills out of his body, throwing them in the snow. The other remonstrated against such cruelty, for she thought it was too cold to deprive the Porcupine of his robe. Then the girls, who had wasted some time and still had a great distance to travel, continued their running toward the village for which they were bound.

When they left the hollow log, the Porcupine crawled up a tall pine tree until he reached the very top, where he faced the north and began to shake before his breast his small tshi'saqka rattle, singing in time to its sound. Soon the sky began to darken and the snow to fall, while the progress of the girls, who were still running along, became more and more impeded by the constantly increasing depth of snow.

One of the sisters looked back and saw the Porcupine on the treetop, using his rattle. Then she said to her sister who had plucked out his quills, "My sister, let us go back to our own village, for I fear some harm will befall us."

"No; let us go on," replied her companion, "we need not fear the Porcupine." As the depth of the snow impeded their progress, they rolled up their blankets and continued the journey.

The day was drawing to a close and the sisters had not yet reached a point from which they could see the village they were striving to reach. Traveling on, they came to a stream which they recognized as being near the village, but night had come on, and the snow was now so deep that they were compelled by exhaustion to stop. They could hear the voices of the people in the village, but could not call loud enough to be heard; so they perished in the snow which the Porcupine had caused to fall. One should never harm the Porcupine, because he is a tshi'saqka and a ma'nido.

THE RACCOON

One time the Raccoon went into the woods to fast and to dream. He dreamed that some one said to him, "When you awaken, you must paint your face and body with bands of black and white; that will be your own."

When the Raccoon awoke, he went and painted himself as he had been told to do, and so we see him even at this day.

THE RACCOON AND THE BLIND MEN

The following tale represents the raccoon as the mischief maker, as the animal of like propensities among other tribes is the coyote.

There was a large settlement on the shore of a lake, and among its people were two very old blind men. It was decided to remove these

men to the opposite side of the lake, where they might live in safety, as the settlement was exposed to the attack of enemies, when they might easily be captured and killed. So the relations of the old men got a canoe, some food, a kettle, and a bowl and started across the lake, where they built for them a wigwam in a grove some distance from the water. A line was stretched from the door of the wigwam to a post in the water, so that they would have no difficulty in helping themselves. The food and vessels were put into the wigwam, and after the relations of the old men promised them that they would call often and keep them provided with everything that was needful, they returned to their settlement.

The two old blind men now began to take care of themselves. On one day one of them would do the cooking while the other went for water, and on the next day they would change about in their work, so that their labors were evenly divided. As they knew just how much food they required for each meal, the quantity prepared was equally divided, but was eaten out of the one bowl which they had.

Here they lived in contentment for several years; but one day a Raccoon, which was following the water's edge looking for crawfish, came to the line which had been stretched from the lake to the wigwam. The Raccoon thought it rather curious to find a cord where he had not before observed one, and wondered to himself, "What is this? I think I shall follow this cord to see where it leads." So he followed the path along which the cord was stretched until he came to the wigwam. Approaching very cautiously, he went up to the entrance, where he saw the two old men asleep on the ground, their heads at the door and their feet directed toward the heap of hot coals within. The Raccoon sniffed about and soon found there was something good to eat within the wigwam; but he decided not to enter at once for fear of waking the old men; so he retired a short distance to hide himself and to see what they would do.

Presently the old men awoke, and one said to the other, "My friend, I am getting hungry; let us prepare some food." "Very well," replied his companion, "you go down to the lake and fetch some water while I get the fire started."

The Raccoon heard this conversation, and, wishing to deceive the old man, immediately ran to the water, untied the cord from the post, and carried it to a clump of bushes, where he tied it. When the old man came along with his kettle to get water, he stumbled around the brush until he found the end of the cord, when he began to dip his kettle down upon the ground for water. Not finding any, he slowly returned and said to his companion, "We shall surely die, because the lake is dried up and the brush is grown where we used to get water. What shall we do?"

"That can not be," responded his companion, "for we have not been asleep long enough for the brush to grow upon the lake bed. Let me

go out to try if I can not get some water." So taking the kettle from his friend he started off.

So soon as the first old man had returned to the wigwam, the Raccoon took the cord back and tied it where he had found it, then waited to see the result.

The second old man now came along, entered the lake, and getting his kettle full of water returned to the wigwam, saying as he entered, "My friend, you told me what was not true. There is water enough; for here, you see, I have our kettle full." The other could not understand this at all, and wondered what had caused the deception.

The Raccoon approached the wigwam and entered to await the cooking of the food. When it was ready, the pieces of meat, for there were eight of them, were put into the bowl and the old men sat down on the ground facing each other, with the bowl between them. Each took a piece of the meat, and they began to talk of various things and were enjoying themselves.

The Raccoon now quietly removed four pieces of meat from the bowl and began to eat them, enjoying the feast even more than the old blind men. Presently one of them reached into the bowl to get another piece of meat, and finding that only two pieces remained, said, "My friend, you must be very hungry to eat so rapidly; I have had but one piece, and there are but two pieces left."

The other replied, "I have not taken them, but suspect you have eaten them yourself;" whereupon the other replied more angrily than before. Thus they argued, and the Raccoon, desiring to have more sport, tapped each of them on the face. The old men, each believing the other had struck him, began to fight, rolling over the floor of the wigwam, upsetting the bowl and the kettle, and causing the fire to be scattered. The Raccoon then took the two remaining pieces of meat and made his exit from the wigwam, laughing ha, ha, ha, ha; whereupon the old men instantly ceased their strife, for they now knew they had been deceived. The Raccoon then remarked to them, "I have played a nice trick on you; you should not find fault with each other so easily." Then the Raccoon continued his crawfish-hunting along the lake shore.

SHIKÂ'KO, THE SKUNK

The following is an account of how the skunk is alleged to have made some hunting medicine, the effect of the vegetal ingredients being as overpowering as the offensive liquid with which this animal is said to have killed the oak.

The Skunk was once a larger animal than he now is. He was as large as a hill, but he gradually became smaller and smaller; and as his size kept diminishing, he determined to make a strong hunting medicine—one that would give him skill in killing great game and plenty of it. He hunted around to find the plants he required for his

medicine, and succeeded in obtaining four. These were mosh'kikwas,[1] pinä'sse-oshet,[2] as'kaa'qpukn,[3] and isha'wasket.[4]

When he had gathered a small bundle of each of these plants—they altogether being as much as he could grasp in his hand—he pounded them very fine. Then, when the medicine was prepared, he put it in a little pouch which he always carried with him wherever he went.

One day, when he found himself near a large oak, he thought he would test the medicine which he had made. So he took a pinch of the powder out of the pouch, put it in some water, and drank it. Then, to make the medicine still more effective, he sang, "Who is going out hunting, for I go out to hunt?"

Then the Skunk faced the oak, and shot at the roots—not with an arrow, but with a foul-smelling liquid, which, when it struck the tree, caused it to be consumed to ashes.

The hunting medicine that was made by the Skunk is the same that we make to this day.

THE CATFISH

Once when the Catfish were assembled in the water an old chief said to them, "I have often seen a Moose come to the edge of the water to eat grass; let us watch for him, and kill and eat him. He always comes when the sun is a little way up in the sky."

The Catfish who heard this agreed to go and attack the Moose; so they went to watch. They were scattered everywhere among the grass and rushes, when the Moose came slowly along picking grass. He waded down into the water, where he began to feast. The Catfish all watched to see what the old chief would do, and presently one of them worked his way slowly through the grass to where the Moose's leg was, when he thrust his spear into it. Then the Moose said, "What is it that has thrust a spear into my leg?" and looking down he saw the Catfish, when he immediately began to trample upon them with his hoofs, killing a great number of them, while those that escaped swam down the river as fast as they could. The Catfish still carry spears, but their heads have never recovered from the flattening they received when they were trampled by the Moose into the mud.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MENOMINI AND THE WHITES

The first meeting between the Indians and whites is accounted for in the following story, told by Waiŏs'kasīt, and in this instance, as in like tales of other tribes, liquor is referred to as having been given to the Indian to make him temporarily demented.

When the Menomini lived on the shore of the sea,[5] they one day were looking out across the water and observed some large vessels, which

[1] An aquatic plant found in cedar swamps.

[2] The word signifies eagle-leg, and refers to a prairie plant bearing yellow flowers.

[3] An aquatic plant, growing to the height of about 4 feet, the roots of which are used.

[4] Also an aquatic plant.

[5] Probably Lake Michigan is here referred to.

were near to them and wonderful to behold. Suddenly there was a terrific explosion, as of thunder, which startled the people greatly.

When the vessels approached the shore, men with light-colored skin landed. Most of them had hair on their faces, and they carried on their shoulders heavy sticks ornamented with shining metal. As the strangers came toward the Indians the latter believed the leader to be a great ma'nido, with his companions.

It is customary, when offering tobacco to a ma'nido, to throw it into the fire, that the fumes may ascend to him and that he may be inclined to grant their request; but as this light-skin ma'nido came in person the chief took some tobacco and rubbed it on his forehead. The strangers appeared desirous of making friends with the Indians, and all sat on the ground and smoked. Then some of the strangers brought from the vessel some parcels which contained a liquid, of which they drank, finally offering some to the Menomini. The Indians, however, were afraid to drink such a pungent liquor indiscriminately, fearing it would kill them; therefore four useless old men were selected to drink the liquor, and thus to be experimented on, that it might be found whether the liquid would kill them or not.

The men drank the liquid, and, although they had previously been very silent and gloomy, they now began to talk and to grow amused. Their speech flowed more and more freely, while the remainder of the Indians said, "See, now it is beginning to take effect!" Presently the four old men arose, and while walking about seemed very dizzy, when the Indians said, "See, now they are surely dying!" Presently the men dropped down and became unconscious; then the Indians said to one another, "Now they are dead; see what we escaped by not drinking the liquid!" There were sullen looks directed toward the strangers, and murmurings of destroying them for the supposed treachery were heard.

Before things came to a dangerous pass, however, the four old men got up, rubbed their eyes, and approached their kindred, saying, "The liquor is good, and we have felt very happy; you must try it too." Notwithstanding the rest of the tribe were afraid to drink it then, they recalled the strangers, who were about to return to their boats.

The chief of the strangers next gave the Indians some flour, but they did not know what to do with it. The white chief then showed the Indians some biscuits, and told them how they were baked. When that was over, one of the white men presented to an Indian a gun, after firing it to show how far away anything could be killed. The Indian was afraid to shoot it, fearing the gun would knock him over, but the stranger showed the Indian how to hold it and to point it at a mark; then pulling the trigger it made a terrific noise, but did not harm the Indian at all, as he had expected. Some of the Indians then accepted guns from the white strangers.

Next the white chief brought out some kettles and showed the Indians how to boil water in them. But the kettles were too large and too

heavy to carry about, so the Indians asked that they be given small ones—cups as large as a clinched fist, for they believed they would grow to be large ones by and by.

The Indians received some small cups, as they desired, when the strangers took their departure. But the cups never grew to be kettles.

HOW THE HUNTER DESTROYED THE SNOW

There was a family of four persons—a hunter, his wife, and two children—who dwelt in one wigwam. The hunter each day went out for game, and he usually returned with all that he could carry. He continued these successful hunting excursions throughout the autumn and until the middle of winter; but one day, while in the woods, far from his wigwam, Kōn (the snow) froze the hunter's feet so badly that he could scarcely get along. He felt very sad that he was so injured by the Cold, and to punish him he made a large wooden bowl, which he filled with Snow, and buried it in a deep hole where the midday sun could shine down on it and where the Snow could not run away. He then covered the hole with sticks and leaves to hold the Snow a prisoner until summer.

When midsummer came, the hunter went out to the place where he had buried the Snow, and, removing the covering, permitted the sun to shine down on it and cause it to melt. Thus he punished the Snow; but when autumn came again and he was one day in the forest, he heard someone say to him, "You punished me last summer, but when winter comes I will show you how strong I am."

The hunter well knew that it was Kōn who had thus addressed him, and, taking care to provide himself against cold weather, he at once built another wigwam, near to the one he occupied, and filled it with firewood. The season changed and the winter came again. One day when the hunter was out in the woods, he heard some one speaking, and, listening, heard the words, "Now I am coming to visit you, as I told you I should do; I shall be at your wigwam in four days."

When the hunter returned to his wigwam, he got more wood ready, and built a fire at each end of his wigwam. After four days had passed by, it began to get very cold, and everything became frozen. The hunter replenished the fires with the wood he had gathered, and got out more robes to cover his wife and children. On the morning of the fifth day the cold became more and more intense, in consequence of which the hunter and his family could scarcely keep from perishing. Toward night the hunter, on looking out the door of the wigwam, saw approaching a stranger who seemed to look like any ordinary being, save that he had a very large head and an immense beard. When he came to the wigwam, the hunter asked him to enter, which he did, but strangely enough he would not go near either of the fires. This puzzled the hunter, and he began to watch the stranger. As the cold became even greater after the stranger entered the wigwam, the hunter went to his fires and added more wood until they roared. As the hunter was thus engaged,

he kept watching the stranger, who appeared to be getting rather warm. The perspiration began to break out upon his forehead and trickle down through his beard. The stranger appeared to get warmer and warmer, and in a short time the hunter saw his head and body diminishing in size, because he was thawing. The hunter was pleased at this, and kept up his fires until he had entirely melted the Snow, for it was he who had come to destroy the hunter and his family. But man is more powerful than Cold, and thus Kōn perished.

THE BEAR AND THE EAGLE

In the following it would appear that the mythic circumstance alluded to transpired shortly after the creation of the several totems, but special reference is made to an instance in which Kinĕ′ŭᵛ, the Golden-eagle, became angered at the Owa′sse (bear) chief and called him Ä′kwine′mi, his former name having been Shekâ′tshokwe′mau. The latter is the "Old Chief" or "Old King," whose name first appears at the time of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and the tale appears, therefore, to be of later creation.

One time the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ and his people lived on the southern shore of the Mi′nikâ′nisē′pĕ,[1] while the Owa′sse and his people lived on the northern shore of that stream. Although the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ and the Owa′sse lived on opposite shores, they were some distance apart.

Above the camp of the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ was a waterfall where fish were caught. The Bear, who lived nearer the mouth of the river, becoming jealous, built a dam across the river to prevent the fish from farther ascending the stream. When the fish did not ascend the river at the proper time, the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ began to suffer from want of food, and many, indeed, died of starvation. The Kinĕ′ŭᵛ then asked his son to go down to the camp of the Owa′sse and ask him to remove the dam, that the fish might be permitted to ascend the river and his people no longer be compelled to suffer.

The son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ went to the Owa′sse, as he had been requested, and asked that the dam be removed, that the fish might ascend the river and relieve his starving people. The Owa′sse appeared to acquiesce in this request, and told the son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ that all would be done as he had asked. But next morning Owa′sse heated a piece of metal in the fire; then, calling to the son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ, he said, "You may return to your camp now; the fish will follow," and as the boy came toward Owa′sse he was grasped by him, who thrust the hot metal rod through the skin of the boy's forehead, leaving a great wound there. The boy went home with his robe over his head and shoulders in order to hide the wound, and immediately entered his wigwam, where he sat down, silent and meditating. Kinĕ′ŭᵛ soon entered the wigwam, and, on observing his son, said to him, "My son, were you successful in your mission?"

[1] Now known as Menomini river.

"Yes, my father," responded the boy, "the fish are coming up; but see what I got from the Owa'sse." The son then threw back his robe, exposing the wound he had received. The Kinĕ'ũ^{v} became terribly angry, and called the chief of the Owa'sse, Ä'kwine'mi, his former name having been Shekâ'tshokwe'mau. Henceforth the chief of the Kinĕ'ũ^{v} assumed the name of Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v}.

Then Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v} sent word to Ä'kwine'mi that he would destroy him and his people for the insult and injury inflicted on his son. The two parties soon met in battle, when Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v} jumped upon the back of Ä'kwine'mi and bound him with cords, the victors assisting. He was tied in such manner that should he struggle he would choke himself; therefore Ä'kwine'mi remained motionless. After the defeat of the people of Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v} by those of Ä'kwine'mi, the boy's father approached the captive chief again and said, "We wanted to eat fish, but you filled my son with fire; now I shall fill you with fish"—whereupon he called together the nomä'sŏk (fish) and filled the body of Ä'kwine'mi with them.

The people of Ä'kwine'mi, knowing that they could no longer reside in peace with the Kinĕ'ũ^{v}, left the place of their abode and traveled westward, their victors pursuing them for a long distance and killing many of the people.

At the time that Ä'kwine'mi and his people reached the Mä'siksē'pĕ (the Mississippi), there was warfare between many other nations who dwelt in that country. The bones of the slain are even at this day found when the Indians dig for roots and other substances from which they make medicines.

Some of the Owa'sse people who escaped from the Kinĕ'ũ^{v} afterward went toward the south, and are still living somewhere in that direction.[1]

Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v} and his people then took possession of all the country around the course of the Mä'siksē'pĕ, and long lived in peace.

One time the chief Ä'kwine'mi visited the camp of the Kinĕ'ũ^{v} to offer a pipe, that they might smoke and make peace. He camped on the opposite side of the river, but called across to Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v}, saying, "You defeated us, and now the country is yours. Let us return here sometimes, and let us be friends henceforth."

Then Wĕ''skinĕ'ũ^{v} replied, "Let it be as you wish, my brother-in-law." So peace was declared, and both camps remained near together.

From these two camps—the Kinĕ'ũ^{v} and the Owa'sse—the Menomini people are descended.

MIQKÄ'NO, THE TURTLE

There was a large camp in which Miqkä'no, the Turtle, took up his abode. He built a wigwam, but had no one to take care of his property and to work for him, so he thought he would look around among the

[1] Shu'nieu says he has heard Osages say that there are supposed Menomini near the country occupied by them in Indian territory. The people referred to are doubtless some closely allied tribe of the same stock, possibly Ottawa.

young women and select a wife. Finding a woman whom he thought he would like, he asked her to be his wife, but she replied, "How are you going to provide for a family?—you can not keep up with the rest of the people when they move."

To this the Turtle replied, "I can keep up with the best of your people."

The woman, to delay the marriage as long as possible, then agreed to marry the Turtle in the spring. At this he was vexed, so, in order to get away for some time to meditate, he told her, "I shall go to war and take some captives, and when I return in the spring, I shall expect you to marry me."

The Turtle then made preparations to depart. Calling together all his friends, the Turtles, he left the camp followed by a curious throng. The woman who had promised to marry the Turtle, but who really had no intention of doing so, watched the Turtles as they went away, and laughed heartily because they moved so slowly. When the Turtle saw this expression of merriment, he said to his promised spouse, "In four days from now you will surely mourn for me, because I shall be a great distance from you."

"Why," responded the girl, "in four days from this time you will scarcely be out of sight!"

Thereupon the Turtle corrected himself by saying, "I did not mean four days, but four years; then I shall return."

The Turtles, continuing to travel, came one day to the trunk of a large tree lying across their path. Then the Turtle said to his companions, "This we can not pass unless we go around it, and that will take too long; what shall we do?"

Some of the others then said, "Let us burn a hole through the trunk;" but in this they did not succeed. They therefore were compelled to turn homeward, but it took them a long time ere they neared the village whence they had set out. To give their return the appearance of a successful excursion, they set up a war song. The villagers heard them and went out to see what spoils were to be had, but when they got near, the Turtles each grasped someone by the wrist, saying, "We take you prisoners; you are our spoils." The people who were thus captured were angry and determined to avenge the insult. The chief of the Turtles happened to capture his betrothed, and he said to her, "Now that I have you I shall keep you."

It was necessary to organize a dance to celebrate the victory over the villagers, and when the time arrived everybody had donned his best clothing. While the Turtle sang, the participants kept going around, dancing, until the Turtle repeated the words, "Whoever comes here to see me will die; will die; will die."

At this the dancers became alarmed, and gathering up their clothes and other things returned to the village. They were frightened, for they did not know what to expect next. The Turtle remained for some

time before returning to the village, arriving there much later, because he could not travel so fast. Then, when everybody had gone from his camp, some one approached him and said, "That Turtle-woman who was to become your wife is married to another man."

"Is that true?" said the Turtle; "let me see him."

The Turtle was already on his way to the village, where he arrived at night, and immediately began to search for his promised wife. He was gaily dressed, and his fringe and ornaments rattled as he walked along. The woman for whom he was searching recognized the noise as being made by the one she had deceived. As he approached her wigwam he saw evidence of the presence of a man, so he called loud enough for those within to hear, "Now, my friend, I am coming for the woman who promised to be my wife."

The man whom the woman had married during the Turtle's absence then said to his wife, "Here comes the Turtle; now what is to be done?"

"I shall take care of that," replied his wife.

The Turtle grasped the woman by the side and said, "Come along with me; you belong to me," but she resisted, saying, "You broke your promise." The husband also spoke, saying to the Turtle, "You promised to go to war and bring back some prisoners, which you failed to do."

"I did go, and returned with a number of them," angrily retorted the Turtle, who drew his knife from its sheath and then said, "I will cut her in two; you take one-half of her while I take the other. Both of us shall then be satisfied." The husband, rather than have his wife harmed, delivered her, when she was forcibly taken away by the Turtle, followed by a long line of his people.

When the Turtle arrived at his own wigwam, the woman began to meditate and to devise a plan by which she could get rid of the Turtle. Remembering that one of her friends had a large kettle, she went to borrow it, and when she had brought it back, she filled it with water to boil. When the Turtle saw this, he became mistrustful, and asked her, "What are you doing there?"

She answered, saying, "I am warming some water; do you know how to swim?"

The Turtle replied that he knew how to swim, whereupon his wife said:

"I thought you might want to wash; I can get at your back and wash the mud from it."

The Turtle then said, "I have been in the mud and water so much that I should like to have my back washed."

Then the woman grasped the Turtle by the shell and carrying him to the kettle of boiling water dropped him in. He died almost instantly and sank to the bottom, with his belly uppermost. The other Turtles, his people, seeing their leader go into the kettle, followed him, and

also were killed. This was the last of the Turtle and his curious band of followers.

Then the woman returned to her husband from whom the Turtle had stolen her.

THE RABBIT AND THE PANTHER

The Rabbit was a great boaster, and as he wanted to have a mitä′wikŏ′mik of his own, and pretend to be a mitä′ᵛ, which he was not, he accomplished his own destruction.

One day Wabŭs′, the Rabbit, and his wife, in their travels, came to a low hill covered with poplar sprouts, and, as they were green and tender, the Rabbit decided to remain and make the place his abode. So he went to the top of the hill, and making trails diverging in every direction, that he might see anyone who approached, he built a wigwam where all the trails came together. This was a mitä′wikŏ′mik, and the Rabbit wanted to have a dance. When the wigwam was finished, the Rabbit told his wife he was going to dance; but he first ran all around the hill to see if anyone had been about to watch for him, but finding no trail he returned and began his song. As the Rabbit returned to the wigwam, Pĭshē′ŭ, the Panther, happened to come along at the base of the hill where the Rabbit had just paused. Finding here the Rabbit's trail, the Panther followed it until he reached the place where the Rabbit and his wife were dancing by themselves in their mitä′wikŏ′mik. Here the Panther remained to watch for the Rabbit to come out again.

The Rabbit told his wife to sit at one end of the mitä′wikŏ′mik, while he himself went to the other. Taking his medicine bag, he approached his wife four times, chanting yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a; then he shot at his wife, just as a mitä′ᵛ does when he shoots a new member. Then she got up and shot at her husband, and thus they had a joyous time all by themselves. Then the Rabbit sang—

Pī′shĭuwē′ wiqkwē′yaqsĭk′ endâ′sĕ tshĭq′tshĭkwoqkwan′dĕan,
Nemâ′hanta nakamâ′,
Nemâ′hanta nakamâ′.

Which means: "If the Panther comes across my track while I am biting the bark from the poplars, he will not be able to catch me, for I am a good runner."

When he had finished his song, the Rabbit told his wife he would go out hunting. The Panther saw the Rabbit depart, and awaited his return.

When the Rabbit started on his return, he felt very happy, but as he reached the place where the Panther lay concealed the latter got out into the trail, where the Rabbit saw him and started back on the trail as fast as he could run. The Panther started in pursuit, and overtaking the Rabbit said, "You are the one who said I could not catch you;

who is now the better runner?" Before the Rabbit could reply, the Panther caught him by the neck, crushing it with his teeth, and killing him.

Thus ended the career of the boastful Rabbit.

THE BEAVER HUNTER AND HIS SISTER

There were two orphans, brother and sister, who lived alone; but they got along pretty well, as the young man was a good hunter. He caught many beaver, on whose meat they subsisted, while the girl dressed the skins, from which she prepared clothing and robes.

One time the young man went away from the wigwam to hunt, while his sister sat within combing her hair and making herself appear neat and pleasing for her brother's return. While thus engaged she heard footsteps, and looking toward the entrance of the wigwam she observed a man approaching. When he came near, he asked of her, "Where is your husband; are you not married?"

As the girl appeared to pay no attention to this, the stranger spoke again, saying, "Do you hear what I say?—are you married?—where is your husband? I came across a man's trail near this wigwam, and thought it might have been made by your husband." But the girl maintained silence, and after a short time the stranger went away

In the evening her brother returned, bringing home some beaver as usual, and on the following morning he again went away to hunt. His sister did not say anything to him about the stranger's visit, thinking it might have been some one who had come there accidentally.

The young man had not gone very far from home when the stranger again appeared at the door of the wigwam. His sister was dressing the beaver skins when he approached, and she continued at her work as if unaware of his presence. Soon the stranger said, "You are married, are you not? Where is your husband? I saw footprints about this wigwam and thought they might have been made by him."

As the girl paid no attention to these words, the man got angry and blew out her fire, scattering the coals and ashes over everything. Then he left her as abruptly as he had appeared, laughing until he was out of sight of the wigwam. After the man had departed, the girl took her robe, and putting it over her head, sat in the corner of the wigwam to ponder over the indignity to which she had been subjected.

Thus was the girl found by her brother when he returned from the hunt. As he entered the wigwam and saw his sister sitting silently and everything about her dusty and disarranged, he said to her, "My sister, what has happened to you?"

To this she replied, "A stranger came to the wigwam yesterday and asked me if I was married and where my husband was. Today he came again and asked me the same questions, but I did not answer him; so he became angry and blew out my fire, scattering the coals and ashes over everything, as you see."

The hunter then said to his sister, "Tomorrow morning I shall go hunting as usual, but will return early in order to protect you."

In accordance with his promise, the hunter started out the next morning in quest of game. He had gone but a short while when the stranger, for the third time came to the wigwam and looked in at the door. The girl was engaged in combing her hair and dressing herself, as before, and although she heard him she did not appear to notice him. As on the two previous occasions the stranger asked her, "Where is your husband? Have you no one to protect you and to provide for you?" To this she paid no attention, which angered the man, and he blew out the fire, scattering ashes over everything, as on the preceding day. At this the girl cried, but the stranger went away laughing.

The young man, returning at midday, found his sister seated at the end of the wigwam in tears, as before. He approached and said to her, "When did the stranger come?" to which she answered, "Just after you left the wigwam." Then the brother got some water and washed his sister's face and took the ashes out of her eyes.

The young man then went out a short distance and began to gather firewood and pile it up near the wigwam. He cut one piece as long as his arm from the finger tip to the elbow, which he shaped like a shovel.

On the next day, early in the morning, the young man built as large a fire as he could without burning up the wigwam. Then he said to his sister, "My sister, you attend to the fire now, as I shall hide myself until the stranger comes, and when you see him approaching, tell me." This she promised to do, while her brother secreted himself to await the coming of the stranger.

It was not long ere the girl heard the stranger approaching, as he had done before; so when he was near enough to hear her, she began to talk to herself, saying, "O, I wish my brother were here!" This she repeated several times in order to mislead the stranger and to get him to come close to her, that her brother might catch him. The stranger came closer and closer, and finally stopped at the door, when in an instant the girl's brother appeared. Hastily getting a shovelful of hot coals from the fire, the young man ran at the stranger and hit him upon the buttock, burning him severely. The man ran, but the girl's brother pursued him, hitting him with the hot coals and saying, "Why don't you blow out the fire now?" and then mockingly laughing as the stranger had laughed at his sister. The man ran some distance, after the girl's brother had stopped following him, but finally he dropped dead.

The stranger was found to be not an Indian after all, but one of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, who try to destroy the people on the earth.

NA'NI' NAIOQ'TÄ, THE BALL CARRIER

One time the people of two wigwams were away hunting, and, being successful in their quest for game, were contented. The occupants of each wigwam consisted of a hunter, his wife, and his children. In the

forest in which these wigwams were lived an old woman who was said to be a witch, and who had a ball by means of which she was enabled to steal children. She would throw the ball toward a wigwam, however far away she might be, and when a child attempted to pick up the ball, it would slowly roll away from the pursuer toward the hut of the old woman, and in this way entice them to her home.

One day the old woman threw the ball toward the wigwams of the hunters. One of the little boys saw it, but in attempting to pick it up the ball rolled away; so the boy followed it from place to place, until at length he came to the old woman's hut, into which the ball rolled. The old woman then said to the boy, "Come in, my grandson, and sit down, for you must be tired." The boy sat down as the old woman had asked him, when she fed him. She then asked the boy if he had ever fasted, when he replied that he had not. The old woman then said, "To obtain power and assistance from the ma'nidos, you must fast." The boy agreed to do this, and laid himself down on some robes at the end of the hut. Here he lay for ten days, fasting and gaining the good will of the different animals and birds, the ânâ'maqkĭ'ñ, which came to him from day to day.

At the expiration of the ten days the old woman said to the boy, "My grandson, you have fasted ten days; now it is time that you eat something." The boy then arose and ate of the food which the old woman placed before him. Then she said, "My grandson, you have now fasted ten days, and the ma'nidos must have favored you for this ordeal. Did you receive their favor?"

"No," replied the boy, "I have not received the favor and influence of all; there are still some ma'nidos who have kept at a distance and would not grant my desire."

"Then," said the old woman, "you must fast ten days more."

The boy again laid himself down and fasted for ten days more, at the end of which time he turned over, with his face to the wall. He continued this fast for twenty days, after which the old woman spoke to him, saying, "My grandson, come and eat something."

The boy arose and partook of the food which the old woman had prepared for him. Then she said to him, "My grandson, you have now fasted for many days, and the ma'nidos must have granted you power; have you received the favor of all of them?"

The boy replied, "No, grandmother, there are still some ma'nidos who keep away from me, and hesitate to grant the power I want, because I have not fasted long enough."

"Then, my grandson," said the old woman, "fast again, and you will receive the favor of all the ma'nidos."

The boy again went to the couch of robes and laid down, where he fasted for fifty days more. He was so weak that the old woman thought him dead, but she approached the spot where he lay and gave him some food. The boy soon began to revive and to gain strength, when

the old woman said to him, "My grandson, you have fasted a long time, and must have received much power from the ma'nidos; did you receive the favor of all of them?"

"Yes, my grandmother," responded the boy, "I have now accomplished my desire, and possess the favor of all the ma'nidos."

The old woman, much gratified at what had happened, now addressed the boy in these words:

"My grandson, there is much gold in possession of Ma'tshehawai'-tŭk, the 'Bad One.' He also has a bridge in his possession, and I want to get both the gold and the bridge. I have taught many boys how to fast, and how to obtain the favor of the ma'nidos, but none of them ever returned with the things that I desire. Now I want you to procure for me a little of the gold as well as the bridge. You will find the Bad One in his hut, beyond a rapid river. When you reach the stream, tie this ball to one of your feet and you will be enabled to cross. In no other way can you accomplish this, because when the Bad One wants to cross the river, he takes the small bridge, and, by simply waving his hand forward, it lengthens and touches whatever spot he desires. Therefore, you can not expect to cross the river by means of the bridge. Trust to the ball, and it and the ma'nidos will see you safely across."

The boy took the ball from the old woman. He then made for himself a warclub, a bow, and some arrows. These were very powerful, for the ma'nidos endowed them with wonderful strength. The boy also had the power to change his form, and his sight and hearing became so acute that nothing could escape his eyes or ears. By the aid of the ma'nidos he was now enabled to go on his journey in search of the Evil One, and to procure some of the gold and the wonderful little bridge which were guarded by him.

Thus equipped the boy set out. After a long time he came to the rapid river, and beheld upon a hill beyond it the house occupied by the Bad One. The water was so rapid that it seemed impassable. The boy broke a branch from a tree and threw it in the stream, but so swift was the current that he could scarcely see it carried away. He then tied the ball to his right foot, and, approaching the bank of the river, ventured out upon the water, as one does in testing the strength of ice. Putting both feet upon the waves, the boy found himself supported; but, still fearful of being carried away, he rushed back to the shore. He made a second venture, this time going farther out upon the water, but again turned back. Gaining courage and confidence in the ball, and remembering that the ma'nidos had all favored his desire for power, he started a third time, and gained the opposite shore in safety. He now removed the ball from his foot and put it in a bag which he carried on his back, then began to look about. He saw the house of the Bad One, and observed the bags of gold hanging from the rafters, as well as the little bridge. He saw too that this Evil Being sat in the room in which the treasures were, and that in order to guard them constantly he always

took his meals there. All these things the boy could see because of his wonderful sight. Then he heard the Bad Being speak to his servant, Hoqpan'niuq'ki (Lung Woman). After wondering how he could induce this Evil One to leave the room in which the gold and the bridge were, he called out to the ma'nidos to make the being hungry. Instantly the Bad One demanded of his servant, "Go and prepare for me some food, for I am very hungry." The Lung Woman went to the room where the food was kept, the Bad One again calling to her, "Hurry with the food, for I am becoming famished," at the same time starting for the room in which the servant was, for he could not wait for the victuals to be brought to him. The servant met him, to lead him out, for he was very large and now almost helpless from hunger.

The moment the Evil One left the room in which the gold and the bridge were, the boy went forward and entered the house. He looked about and discovered hanging from the rafters a number of pouches containing gold, one of which he grasped and tucked under his left arm. Then he took the wonderful little bridge, which he tucked under his right arm. The boy now endeavored to secrete himself until search for him should be abandoned; for he well knew that he could not escape, because of the footprints which he would leave to guide his pursuers. Looking about, therefore, for a place in which to hide, he espied the bedding in the corner of the room, so making a small opening in one of the folds of a robe he crawled in.

So soon as he had hidden himself, the servant returned to the room, where she was startled at seeing the remaining pouches of gold falling to the floor, for this they began to do the moment the boy took down the first bag. The servant then called to her master, asking him to come, as some one had taken one of the pouches and the bridge. The Bad One rushed in as quickly as he was able, and began to search for the one who had stolen his treasures. He sent the servant out to look for footprints leading from the hut, but as none were discovered she returned and began searching the room. She removed everything from its place, but nobody could be found. The robes and bedding were thrown aside, piece by piece, but no living being was discovered, until finally, in returning the robes to the corner of the room, she discovered the cut in the robe. Calling to her master the Lung Woman said, "See, here is a fresh cut; here is where the thief has hidden himself." Then reaching into the opening she pulled out Na^{a}ni' Naioq'tä ("Ball Carrier"), the boy, but he had made himself very lean and small.

The Evil One then confronted Ball Carrier and asked him, "Have you taken my gold and bridge?"

"Yes," said Ball Carrier, "I took them."

The servant then took a knife, and on asking him where he had secreted the treasures, Ball Carrier lifted his left arm, and in the armpit was the gold. The servant then scraped off the gold, which had so adhered to the skin as to give it a golden color. Then she asked Ball

Carrier where he had secreted the bridge, when he raised his right arm, and in the armpit was the bridge, which she also detached with the knife. When the treasures had been recovered, the Bad One said to his servant, "Take the boy out and clean him, after which you must cook him for our feast. I will go to invite our friends the Me'sibine'bikŭk" (water demons).

The servant then took Ball Carrier out to the room where the food was kept, when he turned toward her and said, "Why don't you keep me for two days and feed me? I am now very lean, but shall be very fat by that time." The servant then turned to her master and offered him the suggestion which Ball Carrier had made. The Bad One replied, "Well, let the boy have his way; perhaps in two days he will be fatter, as he says." Lung Woman then returned to Ball Carrier and led him out to a pen, where he was securely fastened and food given to him. As he ate constantly he began immediately to grow and to fatten so that he could scarcely move his head from one side to the other.

The second day having arrived, the Bad One told his servant to prepare the boy for the feast now to be held, as he was going to invite all his friends, the Water Demons. Before leaving he told Lung Woman not to eat any of the broth, for it would then be defiled.

The servant brought out from the hut a large kettle, filled it with water, and built a fire beneath it. She then took Ball Carrier by the arm and led him up to the kettle, so that when the water boiled she could lift him into it. In the meantime Ball Carrier asked the ma'nidos to keep the water at its ordinary temperature, although it might appear to be boiling, and he also asked the ma'nidos to restore his body to its usual size the moment he was put into the water.

When the water began to boil, the servant put Ball Carrier into the kettle, and the fat, which the ma'nidos had supplied, soon came floating upon the surface. As the water caused him to move about within the kettle, Ball Carrier told the servant to taste the broth to see if it was palatable. The odor was so appetizing that she could not resist the temptation of tasting the broth, so getting a ladle from the hut she reached over the kettle and took up some of the broth, which she found very agreeable. Ball Carrier now induced her to come closer, that she could the better reach the broth. As Lung Woman went near to the kettle Ball Carrier grasped her, and upset the boiling water upon her, scalding her to death. Ball Carrier then gathered together his war-club, bow, arrows, and ball, as well as the pouch of gold and the wonderful little bridge, set fire to the hut of the Evil One, and started for the river, where he took out the bridge, caused it to project across to the opposite shore, when he passed over and restored it to its hiding place in his right armpit.

The hut was soon completely consumed, no trace being left where it had stood. When the Bad One returned with the large crowd of Water Demons, who had come to partake of the feast, he could not find his hut

nor any trace of it even after searching in every direction. Finally he went down to the river, from the bank of which he saw Ball Carrier sitting quietly on the opposite side. Then the Bad One knew who had destroyed his hut, so he went back and told his friends, the Water Demons, that there would not be a feast, as Ball Carrier had destroyed his hut and had escaped.

As the Water Demons started to return to their camp, the Bad One realized that he was undone. He therefore returned to the river and called across to Ball Carrier, saying, "Ball Carrier, I know who you are, and, as you have ruined me, I now offer you my services and will be your servant, if you will have me."

Ball Carrier replied, "I will accept your services, although you tried to destroy me." Then Ball Carrier took the little bridge from his right armpit, and caused it to extend itself across the roaring torrent, when the Evil One started across. He had proceeded but about halfway, when Ball Carrier caused the bridge to become small again, thus upsetting the Bad One, who fell into the water and was carried beneath the surface and drowned.

When Ball Carrier had accomplished all this, he continued his journey, but as he was in a strange country he did not know which way to go, for he forgot to ask aid of the ma'nidos. At length he laid down near a cluster of trees and fell asleep, and, as he was very weak from lack of food, he thus remained a long time.

An old man came to the place where Ball Carrier was lying, and walked around him so as to inclose a large piece of ground for raising roots and plants. While thus engaged the old man espied the Ball Carrier, and, seeing him so helpless, he cut a block of wood from the trunk of a poplar and fashioned it in semblance of a woman. When he had finished his task, the woman became alive; then the old man said to her, "Go over to that cluster of trees; there you will find a man; bring him here and feed him; he is nearly starved, and he will become your husband."

The woman went to the cluster of trees, picked up Ball Carrier, and carried him to where the old man had been, but who was no longer to be seen. After Ball Carrier had recovered from his weakness, he built a wigwam and lived there with his wife.

One day Ball Carrier told his wife that, as he was a traveler, he would have to leave and continue his journey. On hearing this the woman fell dead, and nothing remained of her but a piece of old wood. He then resumed his journey, and, after a long time reached a mountain, where, toward sunset, he saw at a short distance before him a hut with its door ajar. As he approached he saw within a woman, who, without turning her head, said, "Come in, Ball Carrier, and sit down." He entered and seated himself as he was asked, when the woman said, "It is fortunate you came to my wigwam tonight, as my sister is now absent; she wants to kill you. When she returns tomorrow, she will ask you

to amuse her, and while she is in a good humor she will scratch your head to look for vermin. You must pay no attention to this, but watch her motions, that you may not be taken unaware."

The next day the woman's sister entered the wigwam and exclaimed, "I am glad to see you, my brother-in-law; come and amuse me; we can have some games to play."

Ball Carrier observed that she wore a skirt reaching only to her knees, and that her hair was bright red. Not liking her appearance, Ball Carrier said, "I am still tired from my long journey; and if I am to play with you, you must wear a longer skirt." It was then agreed that they were to have some games at noon on the following day; so the woman's sister, who was a cannibal, left and went back to her own wigwam.

Early on the following morning Ball Carrier went out to see where the woman's sister lived, and as he approached her wigwam he found two children eating the flesh from human bones. The children did not see Ball Carrier, but he now knew that the woman's sister was a cannibal. The children ran away, and Ball Carrier saw that there were a great many birds and beasts all about him. They told him to go away, as the woman's sister had planned to kill him. Ball Carrier then told the birds and beasts that if they would not inform the woman's sister of his presence, he would give them all they wanted to eat, as she was now coming back to prepare a feast. To this the birds and beasts assented, but the Chipmunk was not present when this promise was made by Ball Carrier; so as soon as the woman's sister had deposited her kettle, and had gone off a short distance to gather firewood, the Chipmunk ran out and called to the woman's sister that Ball Carrier was near. Then Ball Carrier said to the Chipmunk, "Hush! If you don't cry out, I will give you plenty—not scraps of acorns and bones, but a lot of good food."

As the Chipmunk called out, the woman's sister, without turning her head, said, "What is the matter with you, Chipmunk; did I not tell you to call only if that man came near?" The Chipmunk then said, "I am speaking only to the Bluejay, who stole my acorn."

Ball Carrier next wondered how he could kill the woman's sister, for she had brought several children to cook for the feast. While thus pondering, the black-head Woodpecker said to him, "If you promise to give me a piece of her scalp, I will kill her for you. She does not carry her heart in her breast, but under her flowing red hair."

Ball Carrier thereupon promised the Woodpecker that he should have the scalp if he killed her—whereupon the bird prepared to dart forward to the spot where the woman's heart was hidden. Lowering his head and pointing his sharp beak straight forward, the Woodpecker suddenly shot away like an arrow, striking the heart in the very middle. When the woman's sister felt this death wound, she lowered her body and began to run very rapidly around in a circle, and endeavored to kill Ball Carrier with a knife, but he took his warclub, and, after repeated

strokes, succeeded in beating out her brains. Ball Carrier then cut off her scalp, and taking a piece from the top of the head gave it to the Woodpecker, who put it on his own head, where he has worn it ever since. This is why the black woodpecker has a black body and a red spot on his head. After Ball Carrier had divided the food among the birds and animals, as he had promised, he departed for his victim's wigwam, that he might destroy her children, for they were bad as the mother had been.

In the meantime, however, the children had fled and hid themselves in a place where their mother had been wont to secrete herself; but Ball Carrier, by reason of the penetrating eyesight given him by the ma'nidos, saw that the children had secreted themselves in a cavern in the mountain. Ball Carrier went to the mountain and began to strike the ground with his warclub. The earth trembled, then opened, exposing the nest of children, whom he beat to death.

Ball Carrier, being a traveler, now resumed his journey in search of other evil beings from whom the human race had much to fear, and whom he might destroy by reason of his great powers.

He came to a wood that crossed his path at right angles, when suddenly he heard a woman's voice crying aloud for assistance. Knowing that something terrible must be happening, he started along the road to the left, soon reaching a high, rocky cliff, at the base of which was a stone door, and at the top an opening like a window.

This seemed more like the abode of a giant, but as Ball Carrier still heard the woman's voice in the direction whence he had come, he rapidly retraced his steps and soon met a young woman flying toward him, in great distress. When she came nearer, she asked him to aid and preserve her from the giant, who was in pursuit.

Said the young woman to Ball Carrier, "The giant has come to my father's village and has already eaten up half of the people, and now he is after me."

Ball Carrier saw that she was the daughter of a chief, and a very beautiful woman, so he determined to save her. He therefore replied, "You must now go back along the path by which you have come, and meet the giant: tell him Ball Carrier is here waiting for him, and that he must come with you. Then when I engage him in conversation you must return to your father and tell him and his warriors to arm themselves with their clubs, spears, and bows and arrows, and return here with you that they may destroy the giant."

The chief's daughter complied with this injunction by hastening back to meet the giant. So soon as she met him she told him that she had come to guide him to Ball Carrier. The giant, thinking he had another victim in view, started along very willingly with the chief's daughter to the place where Ball Carrier had parted with the girl.

In the meantime, Ball Carrier went back to the house in the rock, entered, securely closed the door, and then went above to look out of

the square opening at the top, where he might see all that was transpiring, and defend himself against the giant.

Presently he saw the chief's daughter returning, closely behind her following the giant, from whose belt were suspended several children whom he had captured to devour. As the giant approached the rock and saw Ball Carrier's head protruding from the window, he called out, "Ball Carrier, come down and let me enter my house, that we may have a feast." Ball Carrier replied, "I can not open the door for you, as I am so far above it; but if you will reach upward where I can grasp your hand, I will pull you through the window."

When the chief's daughter saw the giant engage in conversation with Ball Carrier, she escaped, and running back to her father told him what Ball Carrier had instructed her to say. The chief immediately called together his warriors, bidding them get their warclubs, spears, and bows and arrows, that they might proceed to the giant's house, where Ball Carrier would need their assistance. The warriors were soon armed, and, led by the chief and his daughter, they hastened to the giant's abode.

In the meantime, the giant had come to the base of the cliff and reached up to grasp Ball Carrier's hand, that he might enter at the window. Ball Carrier saw that the giant's abode contained many weapons. Grasping the sharpest knife, he went to the window, seized the giant's hand, and drew him upward. When the giant had climbed into the opening far enough for Ball Carrier to take hold of his head he struck him on the back of the neck, severing the head, which fell upon the floor and bounded about like a ball, biting and snapping at Ball Carrier. Throwing aside the knife, Ball Carrier took his warclub and struck the head until he had crushed the life out of it.

Just as the head was thus severed the body of the giant fell down to the base of the cliff; but instead of lying where it fell the body arose, and rushing blindly about wildly beat and struck out in every direction with its immense club. At this moment the chief and his warriors arrived, and seeing that Ball Carrier had beheaded the giant, but that the body was still active, they rushed up, shot into the body numerous arrows, pierced it with spears, and beat it with their warclubs, until the great form was motionless. Ball Carrier now came down to where the chief, his daughter, and the warriors were assembled, and bade some of them gather wood, that he might burn and utterly destroy the giant.

Round about, everywhere, were heaps of human bones, the remains of those whom the giant had killed and eaten. Some of these were the bones of recently killed people, others were of those who had been killed and devoured a longer time, and still others were almost crumbled into dust by age. When the wood-gatherers returned, a large heap of the fuel was made, and upon it the body of the giant was placed; then the wood was set afire and the body burned to ashes. When this had been done, Ball Carrier approached and blew on the ashes, making

them rise like a cloud. The little particles that arose became birds. Ball Carrier took one of his arrows, shot it up into the sky, and as it was returning cried out to the human remains, "People, people, arise; the sky is falling down upon you!" Instantly the skeletons of those last killed became living beings, who sat up and looked about in astonishment. Ball Carrier again shot an arrow toward the sky and called out a second time, "People, people, arise; the sky is falling down upon you!"—whereupon more bodies returned to life, as the others had done. Six times did Ball Carrier thus shoot into the sky, and it was only after this last shot that all had been restored to life—even those who had been killed many years before.

These strange things having been accomplished, the whole party returned to the village of the chief. When they arrived, the chief turned to Ball Carrier and said, "Ball Carrier, you are a powerful man, for you have saved my daughter and my people from being destroyed by the giant. I know of no one better fitted to become the husband of my daughter, as well as my successor, than you; therefore, take her and become chief of my people." Ball Carrier believed the chief's daughter to be the most beautiful woman he had ever seen, and was very glad to accept her. Then they became husband and wife.

Living in peace and quiet among these people of his adoption was not suitable to Ball Carrier, the traveler; so he decided to resume his journey of adventure and to free other people of their enemies. He therefore took leave of his wife and departed.

After going a long distance, Ball Carrier saw a wigwam, and within it a woman, who, on seeing him, said, "Ball Carrier, you are welcome; but it is fortunate for you that you came this morning, for during the day my sister, who wishes to kill you, remains here."

Ball Carrier entered the wigwam and remained, the woman becoming his wife.

On the following morning he observed approaching the wigwam two children, each of them eating the shreds of meat from human bones. When the children finally came near enough to the wigwam to see that a stranger was within, they ran away in great fright. Then Ball Carrier said to his wife, "Whose children are those who are running away?"—to which she replied, "They are the children of my sister; she who desires to kill you."

Presently the woman's sister, his newly made sister-in-law, was seen approaching the wigwam, and so soon as she espied Ball Carrier, she said to him, "I am glad to see you, my brother-in-law; I have long expected you. I hear you are very powerful, but I am desirous of trying my power against yours."

Ball Carrier knew that his sister-in-law desired to destroy him, and he was very careful not to allow her to gain any advantage, but he was compelled to appear pleased to see her; so he answered, "My sister-in-law, I am desirous of trying my power with you, but will first run with you to learn which of us is the fleetest."

Now, this woman was a witch, and as Ball Carrier proposed to run, she felt so sure of success that she immediately agreed to race, and said, "Whoever wins will have the privilege of killing the other."

Ball Carrier was now obliged to run, and went out to find a place for the contest. Seeing that the prairie extended far away without a visible obstruction, Ball Carrier said, "My sister-in law, we will run to the end of the prairie—to a point as far as you can see from here—and then return; the first one to reach this goal will turn and kill the loser."

The witch agreeing, both prepared to start. Ball Carrier invoked the ma'nidos to assist him, and when the witch started to run, Ball Carrier transformed himself into Moqwai'o (the wolf) and ran ahead of the witch. He continued in advance for a long distance. The witch slowly gained in speed and finally passed him. When Ball Carrier found that he could no longer hope to succeed, he changed himself into Ominic (the pigeon) and once more shot ahead of the witch; but, after a long distance, the witch again gained on him, and gradually passed him, so that he felt he could not win in his present form. Ball Carrier next changed himself into Kaka'kĕ (the crow) and again shot ahead of the witch, remaining in advance for a long time. He finally began to tire, however, and, seeing the witch once more pass him, he found that he could not succeed in winning the race unless he assumed another form, so he changed himself into Meshinikake (the Cooper's hawk ?), and again passed the witch. As a hawk he flew along for a great while, but he eventually began to tire, and the witch again gradually lessened the distance between them and finally passed him. Now Ball Carrier assumed the form of Pakäsh'tsheke'u, the Hitter (duck hawk), and again flew ahead, as this hawk is the swiftest of all save Meshinikake. But even again the witch gained on and at last overtook her opponent, when Ball Carrier found that he would have to assume still other form if he wished to win the race; so, changing himself into Liponane (the sharp-shin hawk), he once more gained on and passed the witch. But as a sharp-shin hawk he began to tire after awhile, and felt that he must assume another form, so he became transformed into Ke'shewa'toshe (sparrow-hawk), when he once more passed the witch.

The contestants were now on their homeward flight, and Ball Carrier realized that he must maintain the lead if he wished to escape death. Soon, however, he saw the witch pass him and remain ahead, apparently sure of reaching the goal first. Ball Carrier felt that he must make a final and desperate effort to pass the witch, for they had now almost reached the goal. He therefore assumed the form of Na-na-tska (the humming-bird) and shot ahead like an arrow, reaching the goal far in advance of the witch. He now threw off his disguise and grasped his warclub to await the arrival of his opponent. She soon came up, furiously angry at losing the race, which she had been certain of winning, when Ball Carrier struck her on the head and killed her.

Ball Carrier's wife now came to him and said, "If you want to exterminate that wicked family, you must go and destroy the dead witch's

litter of children, who live in a cavern in the mountain." Turning around, Ball Carrier saw a mountain, and, because he was possessed of wonderful power of sight, he could observe the offspring of the witch huddled together. He then went toward the mountain, and when he had reached it, he struck the ground with his warclub, causing great fissures to appear; and when the cavern was exposed, he slew the whole litter of the witch's children.

Ball Carrier did not live long at this place ere he felt the need of continuing his journey; so he said to his wife, "Wife, you know I am a traveler, and I must proceed on my journey to berid the people of their enemies."

The wife knew that remonstrance would be futile, so she allowed Ball Carrier to use his own judgment. Gathering together his weapons, he left, and after wandering through the forests for a long time, he reached a piece of elevated ground upon which he saw a wigwam. Seeing no one about, he approached it, and on peeping in at the doorway, he espied a woman sitting within, making preparations for her evening meal. The woman looked up, and seeing Ball Carrier at the door appearing hungry and tired, said. "Come in, Ball Carrier, I am preparing food for you; I have long been expecting you."

Ball Carrier entered and seated himself on the robes on the ground. He partook of the food the woman prepared, and seeing that she was comely he asked her to be his wife. The woman accepted the proposal, and Ball Carrier felt satisfied to remain there and travel no farther.

As Ball Carrier was out hunting one day, he came to a deep valley, in the bottom of which was a lake. In the middle of this lake was an island, partly covered by trees, but on the open grassy portion he saw a large White Bear, the chief of the ánâ'maqkī'ñ, the bad underworld ma'nidos. Now, Ball Carrier was desirous of destroying this greatest of all enemies; but not being able to approach within arrowshot, he blew his breath upon the water, which immediately began to freeze. He continued thus to blow until the ice was so thick that the White Bear could not break it, although he repeatedly ran down and butted his head against the ice. Baffled by this failure, the White Bear called on an immense rock at the hill top, asking it to roll down and break the ice, that he might get into the water. The rock rolled down the hillside and struck the ice with terrific force; but, instead of crushing it, rolled off like a ball. At this the White Bear became very much alarmed, and called upon the Suba'isinkkŭk (wood ducks) to come to his aid. Instantly the Wood Ducks came from the south and flew around in one spot over the ice, when it instantly began to thaw. They circled this spot four times, when the ice became so thin that the White Bear ran down, thrust his head upon the weakened spot, broke it, and disappeared beneath the surface.

Then the Wood Ducks also disappeared, and Ball Carrier turned to go toward his wigwam. He had not gone far when he saw a large water

monster on the hillside. He ran and grasped it by the tail to prevent its escape, in order that he might club it to death, but the being discharged a poisonous liquid from its body, some of which struck Ball Carrier on the teeth, and a portion passed down his throat. Instantly Ball Carrier released the water monster and hastened to return to his wigwam, for he well knew that he would die from the effects of this poison.

When he arrived at the wigwam, he told his wife what had happened, and said to her, "When I am dead, do not bury me, but lay me over there in the grove of trees."

The wife of Ball Carrier had borne to him, since their marriage, two sons and a daughter, so she called to her children to help her take care of their father; but when they found him dead, they carried him to the grove and laid the body on a scaffold.

When Ball Carrier died, the ball which he had received from the old woman immediately started to roll back to its original owner. The warclub, spear, and bow and arrows were placed together and preserved in the wigwam.

Not long after this occurrence a party of strange Indians chanced to come along, and finding a family without a protector they became rather free with what they saw and found. The widow of Ball Carrier protested to the chief, but he replied that unless he was permitted to marry her daughter he would have her house torn down and destroyed. Rather than have such a calamity befall her children, she agreed to let the chief marry her daughter. So the chief remained and provided for Ball Carrier's family, while the remainder of the party continued on their way.

Before the chief came along and married Ball Carrier's daughter, the family had become so poor that they were almost starved. One morning the daughter was hunting for berries; she saw for the first time a large wigwam near their own. Approaching the structure, she saw within it large quantities of food which the shade of her father had put there, and also, perched high in the dome of the wigwam, on a thin cross-piece of wood, a Red-bird. As Ball Carrier's daughter saw this quantity of food she was amazed. After she had gained sufficient courage to enter and look about her, she perceived the Red-bird, who made friendly gestures, making her feel at once that it was the spirit of her father. Going up to him she greeted the bird by reaching out her hand and lightly grasping his foot.

When she returned to her mother and brothers, she told them of what she had discovered. Thereafter every time they wanted food they would all enter the wigwam, and after greeting the Red-bird would partake of the food which was so abundantly supplied by him.

These mysterious departures from the wigwam and the small quantity of food consumed by Ball Carrier's family led the daughter's husband to wonder where they all spent so much of their time. Determined to

learn the cause, the chief followed the party very cautiously one morning to observe their movements, and seeing them all enter the large wigwam, he followed. Seeing them advance to the Red-bird, and, one by one, shake it by the foot, he approached and did the same. They then all partook of the food and returned to their own wigwam, where the chief began to exhibit symptoms of sickness.

But this illness of the chief was in reality merely affected, as he wanted an excuse for obtaining the bird to eat. Ball Carrier's family was very much distressed at the chief's illness and asked him what they could do to aid his recovery. He told his wife that he would not recover unless she killed the Red-bird and cooked it for him to eat. This distressed the family very much, and Ball Carrier's two boys became very angry at such a request. The women were in doubt, not knowing what was best to be done; meanwhile the chief pretended to be getting worse, which alarmed them very much, but the boys remained firm, not wanting to see the Red-bird sacrificed to gratify the chief.

One morning after the boys went to hunt, the wife of Ball Carrier went to the large wigwam, caught the Red-bird, and killed him. She then brought the body back to be cooked, when the boys appeared. One of them cut off the bird's head and ate it, while the other cut out and ate the heart. The boys, in anger, then left the wigwam and went away never to return.

The first night out they reached a hut, which they approached very cautiously, and seeing no one about but an old woman, they entered. She asked them to remain over night, and showed them where they might sleep. Being tired from their long day's journey, they soon fell asleep. In the morning, before the old woman was awake, they arose quietly and left, so that she did not learn who they were or whither they were going. On going to the place where the elder of the two young men had slept, she observed that the ground was covered by a thin coating of dust resembling gold, then turning to where the younger one had slept, she there saw the ground similarly covered with stains of gold; but when the old woman attempted to gather the yellow substance it vanished. This gold came from the two sons of Ball Carrier, because they had eaten the head and heart of the Red-bird, which was the shade of him who had secured the treasures of the Bad One and who still carried them in his armpits when he was killed by the Water Monster.

Meanwhile the wife of Ball Carrier took the remainder of the bird, from which her two sons had cut and eaten the head and heart, and put it into the kettle to prepare for the chief. When it was cooked and given to him, he seemed to recover from his illness, because he had gained his wish; but, perceiving that the head was gone, he angrily said to his wife, "Who has cut off the head of the bird?" To this she replied that her elder son had eaten it. Then picking up the body he said, "I see that the heart also is gone—who has taken that?" The

wife then told him that her younger son had eaten it. The chief saw that he had been thwarted in his desire, and violently threw the body of the bird away. He then arose from his bed and seemed as well as when he first came to the wigwam.

When the body of Ball Carrier was deposited on the scaffold in the grove of trees, the ball which the old woman, his grandmother, had given him returned to her. When it bounded into her hut, she knew that her grandson had met with some misfortune, and she immediately prepared to go to his rescue. She took a fox-skin and tied it about her head and around her forehead, and another which she fastened to herself as a breechcloth. Then bidding the ball to return to where the body of her grandson was lying, it started to roll and bound back upon its journey, the old woman following. At last the ball reached the grove of trees, where it stopped; then the old woman placed her hand on the body of Ball Carrier, crying out aloud, "My grandson, arise, arise, and come home with me!" Ball Carrier's life returned, and he sat up as if he had been only asleep. Then the old woman said to him, "Come, my grandson, it is time to return home." So Ball Carrier went to the wigwam, gathered up his weapons, and followed the old woman back whence she had come.

When they had reached her wigwam, the old woman said to Ball Carrier, "My grandson, did you get the gold which you went to procure from the Bad One?"

Ball Carrier replied, "Yes, grandmother, I got it."

"Where is it?" she asked.

"Here, in my left armpit," responded Ball Carrier, raising his arm.

Then the old woman took a knife and carefully scraped away from the skin every particle of gold which Ball Carrier had procured. Then she said, "My grandson, did you get the bridge which the Bad One also possessed?"

"Yes, grandmother, I got that too," replied Ball Carrier.

"Where is it?" asked the old woman. Then Ball Carrier lifted up his right arm, and pointing to his armpit, said, "Here is the bridge, grandmother."

The old woman took the gold, and placing it in the palm of her hand, said, "My grandson, this gold must now be hidden in the earth, because if it remains where everybody can get it, the people will become too indolent; but if it is buried people must work for it, and they will get only what they require." Then pulling up one of the poles that supported the wigwam, she put the gold into the hole and rammed it down into the earth, where it has become scattered, and where those who seek it must dig and work hard to get it.

Then she took the bridge, and turning toward Ball Carrier, said, "This bridge also must be buried, because if everybody can get hold of it they can transport themselves across any river or chasm, and people will become too lazy to work or to learn how to build such

things for their use." So the old woman caused the bridge to assume a very small shape, when she buried it in the earth, where it remains hidden from mankind.

Then the old woman told Ball Carrier to follow her to the door of the wigwam. When they had reached the opening, she pointed out toward two distant wigwams and said, "There are the wigwams of your people, from whom you have been separated for a long time. Your father is now an old man and needs your care and protection; go, therefore, to your people and provide for them while they live." Ball Carrier then remembered his people, and returned to them.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD CHICAGO

The Menomini have a tradition to the effect that some Potawatomi Indians used to live at the marshes where the city of Chicago is now situated. These Indians reported good hunting, so that when some Menomini went there for game, their dogs would bark during the night; but every time the hunters arrived at the spot they found that only skunks had caused the alarm.

The Ojibwa relate a story of an Ottawa hunter and his wife who lived with that tribe farther north, on the shore of Lake Michigan. Taking his wife with him this hunter went southward to hunt on a lake somewhere between the present cities of Chicago and Milwaukee. When he reached the lake, where he had the previous year caught beaver, it was still covered with ice, but on sounding it with a piece of wood he soon discovered the thinner places where the animals had congregated. He therefore broke holes at these weak points in the ice for the beaver to emerge and then went to his wigwam to get his traps in readiness. The hunter's wife chanced to pass one of these holes, and discovering a beaver on the ice, quickly caught it by the tail before it could escape into the water, and called to her husband to come and kill it. The husband replied that he would not come, saying that if he killed that beaver the others might become frightened and escape from the lake by some other openings in the ice. At this the woman became angry and a quarrel resulted.

Later in the day the hunter went out to examine the holes which he had made and to make others where necessary. This task completed, he returned to the wigwam, but found his wife gone. Thinking that she might have gone only to visit a friend and that she would return before the night was over, he went to sleep. On the following morning his wife was still absent, so the hunter searched for her footprints and found from them that she had gone toward the south. Knowing that no Ottawa lived in that direction, he started in pursuit and traveled all day. As he progressed, he observed that her footprints gradually changed in outline, becoming more and more like those of a skunk. He followed the trail until it ended in a marsh, where Chicago now

stands. Here he found the heads of skunks protruding from the grass in every direction, but he refrained from killing any of them lest he might take the life of his own wife. On the following day he continued the search, making it his object to find a large skunk, thinking that probably his wife might have been transformed into a skunk of much greater size than the ordinary animal.

Failing to find any trace of his wife, the hunter returned to his people, and for the reason that this woman was changed into a skunk for her undutiful conduct the locality was called "Place of the Skunk."

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

The Menomini formerly disposed of their dead by inclosing the bodies in long pieces of birchbark or in slats of wood, and burying them in a shallow hole. When not in the neighborhood of birch or other trees, from which broad pieces of bark could be obtained, some of the men would search for the nearest dugout, from which they would cut a piece long enough to contain the body. In some instances sections of hollow

FIG. 26—Ancient form of protecting graves.

trees were used as coffins. In order to afford protection against wild beasts, there were placed over the grave three logs—two directly on the ground and the third on the others. They were prevented from rolling away by stakes driven into the earth. Figure 26 represents the old method of protecting graves.

More modern customs now prevail with the greater body of the tribe, and those who have been Christianized adopt the following course: A wooden coffin is made and the body laid out in the ordinary manner. The burial takes place usually the day on which death occurs. The graves are about 4 feet deep. Over the mound is erected a small board structure resembling a house, as shown in figure 27. This structure measures about 5 feet in length and 3 feet high. In the front and near the top is an opening through which the relations and friends of the deceased put cakes of maple sugar, rice, and other food—the first fruits of the season. In some grave-boxes, immediately beneath the

opening, there is placed a small drawer, which is used for the same purpose as the opening. Sometimes even on the grave-boxes of Christianized Indians, the totem of the clan to which the deceased belonged is

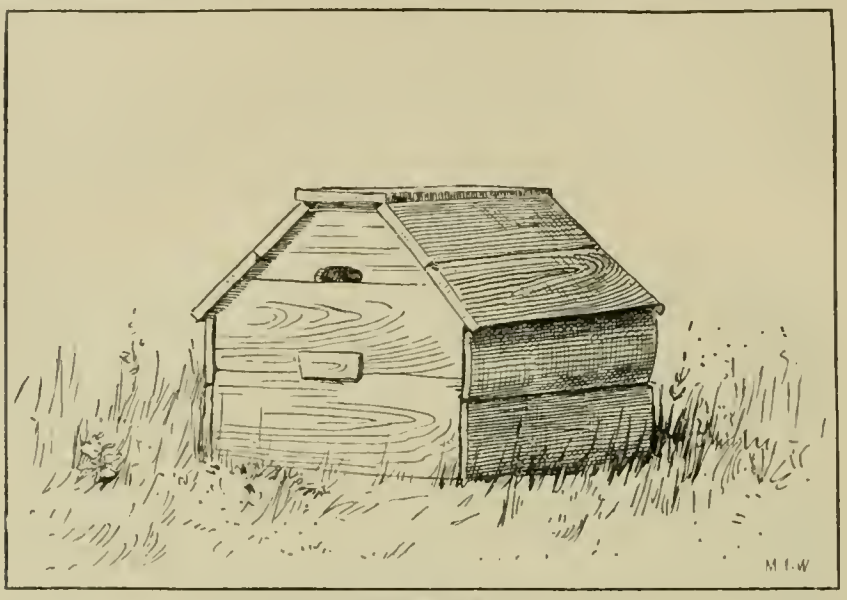


FIG. 27—Modern grave-box.

drawn in color or carved from a piece of wood and securely nailed. These totemic characters are generally drawn or attached in an inverted

FIG. 28—Graves of Osh'kosh and his wife.

position, which is denotive of death among the Menomini as among other tribes. Around the grave-boxes clapboard fences are usually erected to keep stray animals from coming near, and to prevent wayfarers and

GAME OF BOWL

sacrilegious persons from desecrating the graves. An ordinary "worm" fence is also sometimes built for the same purpose.

Among the non-Christianized Menomini the grave covering is of a slightly different character. These grave-boxes are more like an inverted trough, as shown in figure 27, which illustrates the graves of the late chief Osh'kosh and his wife. The openings in the head end of the box are used for the introduction of ordinary food, as well as maple sugar and other tributes of the first fruits of the year, on which the shade of the departed may feast before it finally sets out for the land of the dead.

Formerly, also, bodies were scaffolded, or placed in trees, according to the wish of the deceased. In some instances it was customary to dress and paint the body as during life, seat it on the ground facing the west—in the direction of the path of the dead toward the land of Naq'pote—when a log inclosure, resembling a small pen, was built around it. In this manner the corpse was left.

When a mitä'ᵛ is about to be buried, his nearest mitä'ᵛ relation approaches the grave before earth is thrown into it and addresses the shade of the body, as mentioned at length in connection with the preliminaries of the introduction of a candidate into the medicine society.

Mourners blacken their faces with charcoal or ashes. Formerly it was sometimes customary to add pine resin to the ashes, that the materials might remain longer on the skin, and a widow was not presumed to marry again until this substance had entirely worn off. In some instances of great grief, the hair above the forehead was cropped short.

GAMES AND DANCES

THE ÂKA'QSIWŎK GAME

The game of âka'qsiwŏk was frequently played in former times, but of late it is rarely seen. It corresponds to the Ojibwa game of "plum-stones," or "bowl," and is played for purposes of gambling, either by two individuals or by two sets of players, as below described.

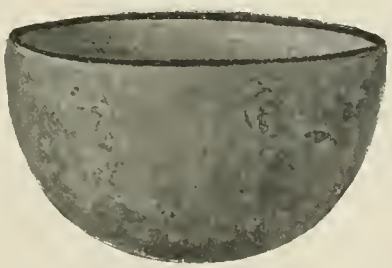


Fig. 29—Wooden bowl for gambling.

A hemispheric bowl, made of the large round nodules of a maple root, is cut and hollowed out. Figure 29 represents a vessel of this character, which was fashioned solely with the aid of an ax and a knife of the character represented in figure 37, called wagäq'koman. The bowl is symmetric, and is very nicely finished. It measures 13 inches in diameter at the rim and is 6 inches in depth. The bowl is five-eighths of an inch in thickness at the rim, but gradually increases in thickness toward the bottom, which is about an inch thick.

The knife-blade was made by an Indian blacksmith, and is of the type used for almost all kinds of wood-finishing, and especially in basket-making, as will later be described. The handle is of basswood; the rear end of the blade, which is hammered to a point, is inserted into a socket in the handle and secured by thongs wrapped about both. There are forty counters, called ma'atik, made of twigs or trimmed sticks of pine or other wood, each about 12 inches long and from one-fourth to one-third of an inch thick. Half of these are colored red, the other half black, or perhaps are left their natural whitish color.

The dice, or aka'sianŏk, consist of eight pieces of deer-horn, about three fourths of an inch in diameter and one-third of an inch thick, but thinner toward the edges. Sometimes plum-stones or even pieces of wood are taken, one side of them being colored red, the other side remaining white or uncolored.

When the players sit down to play, the bowl containing the dice is placed on the ground between them. The counters are placed on the ground between the opponents; bets are made; the first player begins a song, in which the other players as well as the spectators always join. At a certain propitious moment the one to play first strikes the bowl a smart tap, which causes the dice to fly upward from the bottom of the bowl, and as they fall and settle, the result is watched with very keen interest. The value indicated by the position of the dice represents the number of counters which the player is permitted to take from the ground. The value of the throws is as follows, viz:

First throw, 4 red dice and 4 white—a draw.
Second throw, 5 red dice and 3 white, counts 1.
Third throw, 6 red dice and 2 white, counts 4.
Fourth throw, 7 red dice and 1 white, counts 20.
Fifth throw, 8 red dice and 0 white, counts 40.

The players strike the bowl alternately until one person wins all the counters—both those on the ground and those which the opponent may have won. See plate XIV.

MOCCASIN OR BULLET GAME

Another game that was formerly much played by the Menomini was the moccasin, or bullet, game, which was probably learned from their Ojibwa neighbors. Five persons participate in this game, four being active players, while the fifth acts as musician, by using the tambourine-drum and singing, the players usually joining in the latter. The tambourine-drum is shown in figure 30.

The articles necessary to play this game consist of four bullets, or balls of any hard substance, one of which is colored, or indented, to readily distinguish it from its fellows; four moccasins also are required, as well as thirty or forty stick counters, similar to those used in the preceding game, though uncolored. A blanket also is used, and in addition a stick, about 3 feet long, with which to strike the moccasin under which

INDIANS PLAYING MOCCASIN OR BULLET GAME

the bullet is believed to be hidden. When the game is commenced, the players are paired off by two's, who take their places on each of the four sides of the outspread blanket (plate XV). The winner of the toss takes the moccasins before him and lays them upside down and about 6 inches apart with the toes pointing forward. The object now is for the player to lift, with his left hand, each moccasin, in succession, and put a bullet under it, making many pretenses of hiding and removing the bullets, in order to confuse the opponents, who are eagerly watching for some slip of the performer whereby they may obtain a clue of the moccasin under which the marked bullet may be placed. While this is going on, the drummer is doing his duty by singing and drumming, to which the others are noisily keeping time. When the bullets are all hidden,

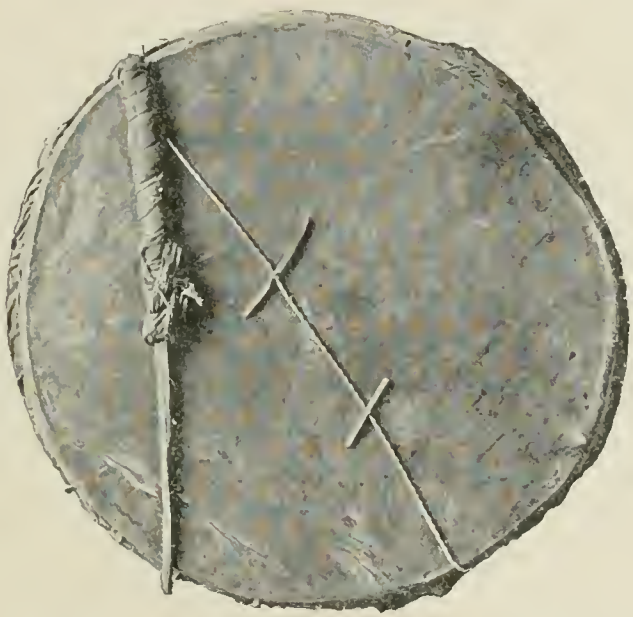


FIG. 30—Tambourine drum.

the player will suddenly call out, "Ho!" in a high note, when the singing drops to a mere murmur, and the striker of the opposing side raises the stick threateningly over the several moccasins, as if to strike them, but each time withdraws as if in doubt. Finally, he will place the end of a long stick under a moccasin and turn it over. Should the marked bullet be disclosed, he is regarded as successful; if he fails the first time he has another trial, but if the bullet is found only at the second trial, the counters to which he is entitled will be fewer than if he finds the bullet the first time.

In event of the opponent making a successful guess of the moccasin under which the marked bullet has been placed, the former player

relinquishes the moccasins and bullets and takes his turn at guessing. The game is decided when all the sticks on the blanket are won, those winning the majority taking the bets previously made. The scoring depends on the agreement previously formed.

LACROSSE

The game of lacrosse has already been described in connection with the cult society of the Mitä'wit, as one of the preliminaries thereto, under certain circumstances. The game appears, at the present time, to be played merely for amusement, personal wagers being made on the result.

BALL GAME

The women formerly played a game of ball in which two sides, composed of unlimited numbers, would oppose each other. At each end of the ball ground, which was several hundred yards in length, a pole was erected, to serve as a goal. Many of the players would surround their respective goals, while the strongest and most active women, playing about the middle of the ground, would endeavor to obtain the ball and throw it toward their opponents' goal. The ball was made of deer hair tightly wrapped with thongs of buckskin, and covered with the same material. It measured about 3 inches in diameter. The women used sticks with a slight curve at the striking end instead of a hoop, as on the sticks used by the men.

The game was more like the well-known game of "shinny" than anything else, with the addition of having to cause the ball to strike the goal instead of being merely knocked across a certain score line. The guardians of the goals were expected to prevent the ball from touching the post, and a good strike might send it away over the active players' heads, far toward their opponents' goal.

THE SNOW-SNAKE

Another game, for both amusement and gambling, was termed the "snow-snake," and was undoubtedly derived from the Ojibwa. It was played during the winter, either in the snow or on the ice, and the only article necessary consisted of a piece of hardwood, from 5 to 6 feet long and from one-half to three-fourths of an inch thick. The head was bulb-like and shaped like a snake, with eyes, and a crossent to denote the mouth. This rounded end permitted it to pass over slight irregularities in its forward movements. The player would grasp the end, or tail, of the snake by putting the index finger against the end and the thumb on one side, opposite to which would be the remaining three fingers; then stooping toward the ground the snake was held horizontally from right to left and forced forward in the direction of the head, skimming along rapidly for a considerable distance. (See figure 31.)

The Ojibwa play the game in a similar manner, but they sometimes place a ridge of snow slightly inclined away from the player in order

to give the snake an upward curve as it leaves the hands, thus propelling it a considerable distance before touching the snow or ice.

A short time since a similar game was observed among the Crow boys at Crow agency, Montana. By them, however, it was played during the summer, and instead of a wooden snake they employed an arrow with a blunt wooden head. Each player had a bundle of from ten to twenty arrows, and would propel all of them before giving place

FIG. 31—Holding snow-snake preparatory to throwing.

to his opponent. Furthermore, to aid in giving the arrow an upward curve and to make it fly farther, a short board was placed on the ground, the farther end of which was raised about 4 inches. The arrow was grasped in the same way as the Menomini held the wooden snake.

RACES

A mutually satisfactory manner of starting a footrace is often adopted by two participants, as follows: After the course in which the race is

to be run has been decided on, the starting point is indicated by making a transverse scratch in the ground over the line of the course, or by laying down at either side some leaves, a blanket, or some other conspicuous mark. The runners then recede from this mark in order to get a good and fair start. Both being ready, a twig or stick from 12 to 15 inches in length is held between them, each grasping an end so as to readily indicate when one or the other is gaining undue advantage in speed from the standing point to the scratch where the race is actually to begin.

In starting, both racers step off briskly, at once beginning a gentle trot which increases in speed as they approach the scratch, though both endeavor to keep abreast and glance at the stick held by the two. When the true starting point is reached, the stick is dropped and both start forward, each endeavoring to impede the progress of the other by every conceivable trick.

Ordinary footraces cover only a few hundred yards, though long-distance races have sometimes occurred. When runners are sent out to carry invitations to the Mitä'wit ceremonials, or when the agent desires information transmitted, the courier assumes an easy running gait, which may be kept up for hours at a time. This dog-trot is the least fatiguing, and instances of the endurance of Indians have been well shown in recent years by the Apache renegades in their endeavor to escape the troops in the mountainous country of eastern and southeastern Arizona, who would frequently desert their ponies and take to the trails on foot.

A Mohave courier, well known to the writer, has been known to make the journey between Camp Mohave and a temporary camp 90 miles southward between sunrise and sunset. He would eat but little during the day preceding the journey, and on the morning of his departure, shortly before the summer's early sunrise, would tuck the dispatches or letters in his huge coil of hair, and being clad only in breechcloth and moccasins was unimpeded in his progress. The trail lay along the hard, sandy banks of the river terrace, and as the temperature rose during the day he would go down into the water to wet his body and then resume his steady, easy, jogging gait, with both arms brought up beside the chest, the fists being clenched and held almost in front of the breastbone.

With reference to the speed obtained by the Menomini Indians, nothing remarkable has been accomplished, so far as is known. An instance of excellent time made by an Ojibwa mixed blood, at White Earth, Minnesota, has been placed on record.[1] The Indian referred to was sent for to enter a race against professional runners. He left the plow at noon, and after dinner walked about 23 miles to the place where the race was to be run, and next morning made 100 yards in ten and three-quarters seconds.

[1] American Anthropologist, Washington, vol. iii, 1890, p. 133.

Mr F. W. Hodge,[1] who has conducted researches among the several Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, has given an account of a Zuñi footrace. "The great races of the Zuñi," says the author, "and those in which the chief interest is centered, occur after the planting, the time when nearly all the men are at leisure. In selecting the participants in these races, the swiftest-footed of the young men of the northern half of the pueblo are matched against those of the southern, or the western half against the eastern. The number of racers on a side varies from three to six, and the degree of interest taken in the contest depends on the reputation of those engaged in it, and particularly on the extent to which betting has been indulged in."

In this Zuñi race many little preliminaries are arranged, and certain precautions taken so as to insure a satisfactory condition of the participants, both hygienically and also from a religious point of view.

The chief feature of the race is the kicking of sticks, which the leader of each side places across his foot at the base of the toes. These sticks are rounded and of the size of the middle finger; they are picked up with the toes and kicked forward, when one of the set, or partners, of the one kicking, renews the feat, keeping up rapid speed. Mr Hodge says the distance covered by one race was 25 miles, and the time consumed only two hours.

It is well known that the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico are so named from their custom of racing while driving before them a wooden ball by means of the feet alone. It is said that frequently 70 or 80 miles are thus covered in a single race.

Canoe races frequently occurred among the Menomini; but of late, it must be said, little interest is manifested in athletic sports of any kind.

TOBACCO AND SHAWANO DANCES

Apart from the dances indulged in by certain individuals in connection with cult ceremonials, there are two dances which are much esteemed as affording great pleasure and excitement. One of these is termed the Tobacco dance, the other the Shawano dance, for the latter is believed to have been introduced by the Shawnee, with which tribal designation the word is synonymous, signifying "southern" or "southerner," that tribe having lived to the south of the Menomini.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Nearly every Indian is a smoker, and smoking is engaged in whenever he has nothing better to do. Pipes used at this day consist of various kinds procured from trading establishments; but, if obtainable, the native pipes, made of stone, are greatly preferred, because they were the pipes of their ancestors and because the bore is deeper and narrower than is found in the modern briar and clay pipe bowls. The native pipe bowl is usually double the height of the modern article,

[1] American Anthropologist, July, 1890, pp. 227–231.

being from 1½ to 4 inches from top to bottom; the main stem, from near the middle of which the bowl rises, is from 4 to 8 inches in length, becoming narrower, laterally, toward the front. The stem is bored from the rear to the center of the bowl, through which a similar hole is drilled from the top, to intersect or unite with the former. This perforation averages one-third of an inch in diameter, while the bowl orifice becomes slightly larger toward the top.

Catlinite or red pipestone pipes were formerly obtained by the Menomini through barter from their western neighbors, this substance being found only near the town of Pipestone, Minnesota. A small bowl of this material is represented in figure 32. The specimen illustrated was formerly the property of Tecumtha, by whom it was presented to a member of the family of Mr Gauthier, interpreter at Keshena, Wisconsin. It is now in the National Museum. Another variety of pipe found especially among the southern bands of Menomini—those living nearer the Ojibwa at Lac Court Oreille and Lac Flambeau—are made of a dark, greenish-black mineral obtained in northeastern Minnesota. An example is illustrated in figure 33.

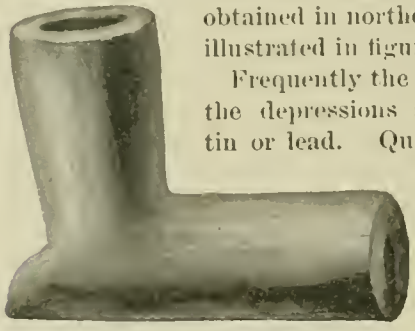


FIG. 32—Tecumtha's pipe.

Frequently the upper portion of the pipe is carved, the depressions afterward being filled with block tin or lead. Quite a degree of taste and skill is shown in some of these pipes, the stems, which are made of ash or other wood, being frequently ornamented by carvings, decorations in color, and beads. Some of the stems are broad, measuring from 1½ to 2½ inches across, and are only half an inch thick. At each of the ends is a cylindrical projection, half an inch in diameter, the lower to be inserted into the pipe bowl, while the other forms the mouthpiece.

The pith is removed from these stems by passing through them a piece of wire, usually made red hot so as to burn and harden the aperture. Some Indians, more expert than others, occasionally produce curious effects and cause astonishment by cutting away certain portions of the stem along the middle broad part, the openings extending almost across from side to side, and thus naturally renewing the continuity of the orifice. As no marks upon the exterior are visible to the casual observer, it seems quite a puzzle to understand how the smoke passes from the bowl to the smoker's mouth, for between these two points circles, squares, or perhaps other figures, are cut out, as above described. On careful examination it may be observed, and perhaps it may also require the assistance of the carver to learn, that holes are drilled or burned from the side or edge of the stem to intersect the main orifice, all superfluous openings being carefully plugged with wood of the same species.

The orifice along the edge of the stem, from end to end, is made by splitting off a piece half an inch or so in width, then cutting a crease or groove along the main part to connect the two short transverse burned holes which run into the main or original orifice, when the detached piece is again carefully secured to the stem by gluing. After the stem is completed and polished, or decorated by discoloration or by burning, the union of the two pieces is extremely difficult to detect, if it can be detected at all. Thus the smoke passes around the interior through an orifice having four angles or turns.

This is an example of only an ordinarily decorated stem. Sometimes the manufacture of the stem is even more complicated by a greater number of designs in carving, or the removal of certain portions, thus increasing the turns and angles of the orifice through which the smoke passes.

FIG. 33—Inlaid stone pipe.

Having had occasion to speak of pipes and the importance of ceremonial smoking, it may not be inappropriate to treat more fully of the subject of tobacco, as well as of the substitutes for tobacco and the peculiar manner of using them.

Since the introduction of manufactured tobacco, most Indians purchase inferior grades of granular mixtures, they being the more readily obtained. Plug tobacco is preferred when it can be procured, but this is generally mixed by them with the native product. In former times the leaves of the sumach (*Rhus glabra* Wood, and *R. aromatica* Ait) were gathered and dried, being subsequently ground between the left palm and the ball of the right thumb, the latter projecting beyond the clinched fist. Frequently, when the leaves were very dry, both palms were employed to give a handful of leaves the primary crushing, the hands being used as in the act of washing. This mixture contains a large quantity of tannic acid, and its use generally produces bronchial irritation.

The substance generally employed by the Menomini for smoking, and one found abundantly in many parts of the northern temperate por-

tions of North America, is the red osier (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), commonly designated by frontiersmen as kil'likinik', or kin'nikinik'. The word is from the language of the Dakota, by which nation it is more properly designated tsha^{n}'shasha, "red-wood." The name adopted by the Menomini is the former one, the word perhaps having been obtained by them directly from whites and Canadian Indians who frequented the territory west of the Mississippi, where it was used very extensively, especially in mixture with plug tobacco. The shoots of a year's growth, and the older branches if still retaining the red epidermis, were preferred. This thin, semitransparent epidermis was scraped off by passing the edge of a sharp knife-blade longitudinally over the stem; then the back of the blade was employed in scraping from the ligneous portion of the branch the cellular integument—the rather soft, brittle green portion of the bark. This was dried generally for future use, for, although smoked at nearly all times, it was deemed better for use in winter, as the Indians believed it to be "heating," meaning by the phrase that it sometimes was more liable to cause slight dizziness or fullness of the head—an effect attributable more to the adulteration of the tobacco furnished them than to the astringency of the bark.

The third variety of native tobacco consisted of the leaves of *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., commonly known in medicine as uva-ursi, and as an excellent diuretic; but by the Dakota Indians, from whom it was formerly obtained, it is designated as waqpe' tsha^{n}shasha—literally "leaf red-wood." This is a low-growing evergreen shrub, which bears oblong leaves not over an inch in length. Its habitat is chiefly along Yellowstone river in Montana, and southeastward in the badlands along the boundary between Montana and South Dakota. During the writer's residence among the Dakota Indians in 1872–73, a small cigarboxful of the leaves was regarded as worth an Indian pony, practically equal to $20, and, for obvious reasons, but few Indians could indulge in this luxury.

This substance was prepared for smoking during the summer months, as it was then less liable to produce a sense of fullness in the head. The Menomini sometimes obtain these leaves at apothecary shops, but as the cost is greater than for an equal amount of tobacco, the latter is more generally used.

Red-osier bark is prepared for smoking by laying a small handful of it on a piece of board, and whilst holding the curly shavings down with the left hand, the ends projecting toward the right are cut off with a large knife by passing the handle up and down without lifting the point of the blade from the board. The motion of cutting is thus similar to that in using a small fodder-cutter; each time the blade is raised from the board the mass of bark is pushed under it as it descends, the bark being therefore really minced. Two parts of the bark are carefully mixed with one part of granular or similarly hashed plug tobacco, when it is ready for the tobacco pouch. Enough for only one day's use is prepared at a time.

When an Indian desires to smoke, a pipeful of the tobacco mixture is placed on the left palm, and worked with the ball of the thumb, or perhaps with the tips of the united fingers and thumb, after which it is put in the bowl and gently packed down by means of a pipe-stick. This implement is made of ash, cedar, or some other choice wood, and is from 8 to 10 inches in length, one-third of an inch thick at the top, gracefully narrowing to within an inch from the lower end, where it curves to a blunt tip. The leaves of the uva-ursi also are broken or cut, and mixed with either of the above-named varieties of tobacco in the proportion of one of the former to three or four of the latter.

When several Menomini are sitting together for social purposes, smoking is individual, and no offer of a pipe by one to another is made, unless the latter desires a whiff, or may perhaps be without his own pipe. When sitting in council and having in hand the consideration of tribal affairs or deliberations relative to important social secrets, or when participating in ritualistic ceremonials, the smoker who fills the pipe hands it to his right-hand neighbor to light. The latter individual takes a few whiffs at intervals, inhaling each mouthful, after which the pipe is passed back to the owner at the left, who then takes several whiffs, when he passes it to the next person to his left. In this manner the pipe continues on its way around the circle, always to the left, until the bowl of tobacco is exhausted. He who concludes the smoking knocks out the ashes and hands the pipe to its owner.

During the passage of the pipe silence is maintained, and if any conversation becomes necessary, it is conducted only in a whisper.

At various intervals of ceremonial smokes, especially during the smoking preliminary to prayers or chants, puffs of smoke are directed toward the four cardinal points as well as toward the abode of the wind gods, or the zenith—the abode of Kishä′ Ma′nido—and toward the earth, the abode of the material parts of their deceased friends and relations.

The true Indian pipestem usually terminates in a cylindrical mouthpiece an inch or more in length and from one-fourth to one-third of an inch in diameter. When smoking, an Indian does not put this part into his mouth, as we are accustomed to doing, thus moistening it with saliva, but he will press it between the lips, and as the stem enters the mouth the outer and dry portion of the lips follow, so that the stem does not become moist. In sucking the stem and gaining a mouthful of smoke, the lips are slightly parted—at either side or toward the corner of the mouth—and air inhaled so as to mix with and pass down the throat into and filling the lungs. The slight sound of rushing air which is heard forms an essential part of Indian etiquette, for it is indicative of satisfaction and enjoyment. After a moment's suspense the contents of the lungs and air passages are exhaled, the smoke issuing from the mouth as well as in two distinct volumes from the nostrils.

The question may be asked as to the reason of the inhalation. This may be answered, because, first, the supply of tobacco is usually very

limited, and, desiring it to go as far as possible, the enjoyment is thus prolonged; and second, the effect of tobacco smoke, when one is once accustomed to inhalation and is not susceptible to the irritating effect, is very agreeable, as the writer can testify from a personal experience of a quarter of a century—a habit since discontinued. It may be remarked, too, that the Indians, at a time when native plants of narcotic properties were used, inhaled the smoke for the purpose of inducing narcotism, and under certain conditions, an ecstatic state. Several plants of the genus *Nicotiana* were employed by various Indians, the southern and southwestern tribes especially, since they inhabited a region in which several species are indigenous.

The tribes inhabiting the high plateau of Arizona, when first met with by the writer in 1871, were in the habit of rolling all of their tobacco into cigarettes as they were required, using therefor corn-husk or brown paper, if the latter could be obtained. An instance of the manner and the degree of enjoyment experienced by a Shivwits Indian may be cited. This native had come into camp with his wife and three young children, the youngest being perhaps three or four years of age. The first inquiry was for tobacco, and a piece of plug being handed to him, he looked about for some heavy yellow straw-paper which had been wrapped about some groceries in the mess-chest. The resemblance of the latter to corn-husk made it very acceptable to him, and he immediately cut up the tobacco into small particles and rolled it into a cigarette, lighting it at the camp fire and noisily inhaling the smoke by great mouthfuls. After a few whiffs, he turned the moistened end of the cigarette to his wife, who also drew a few puffs, then passed it to his eldest child, a girl, then to the next in age, and finally to the infant, all of them seeming to relish the flavor and each casting wistful looks after the stump as the old chief finished it. I was informed by him that his children had never before had an opportunity of smoking. As in this instance there was but the merest taste and not sufficient to induce dislike, and possibly nausea, so it may have been in many others that the gradual acquirement may ultimately end in professional smoking without once having experienced the distressing effects of overindulgence at a sitting. Most whites are supposed to pass through certain stages of tobacco sickness, induced by nausea, but this is believed to be exceedingly rare amongst Indians, doubtless for the reason above suggested.

Tobacco is frequently used by the Menomini as an offering. It is placed before grave-boxes, sprinkled on stones or rocks of abnormal shape, their form being attributed to the Great Deity, or to Mä'näbūsh. It is also sent as peace offerings to other persons or tribes; it is given to one from whom a favor is expected, or when an answer is looked for to questions to be submitted or propounded; and likewise it is sent out, together with an invitation, to members of the Medicine society when a meeting is contemplated. Nothing of a serious character is under-

LOG HOUSE OF NATIVE CONSTRUCTION

taken, or even attempted, before indulging in smoking and contemplation, and perhaps by preliminary fasting, accompanied by prayers and chants.

The origin of tobacco is regarded by the Menomini as mystic. An account of its function in this regard has previously been given in this memoir.

ARCHITECTURE

DWELLINGS AND LODGES

The greater number of the Menomini now live in comfortable log houses built by themselves and tolerably well furnished with modern conveniences. The only floor covering, if any is used at all, consists of rush mats, frequently of neat design, placed directly on the board flooring. Illustrations of these mats are given elsewhere in this paper, while the appearance of a typical modern Menomini log house is shown in plate XVI.

The roof of such a dwelling consists of boards, though in a number of the older buildings homemade shingles may be seen. These are fastened with wooden pegs instead of with iron nails; they measure from 3 to 4 feet in length and from 8 to 10 inches in width, and are pegged to the crosspieces resting on the rafters in the usual manner. The houses are rather poorly lighted, usually two windows and sometimes only one window being regarded as sufficient for lighting and ventilating a house of moderate size. In nearly all instances the building logs are squared to fit closely, and consequently require less chinking than when left naturally round. Whenever necessary to the comfort of the occupants of the dwelling, chinking is done with clay and sod, but on some occasions mortar is employed.

Some houses are supplied with a ceiling, independent of the roof, and a hatchway is also furnished for ingress by means of a ladder. The attic thus formed is used for the storage of various household articles, including utensils not in immediate use, and of harness and traps; sometimes it is used even for sleeping quarters for the children or for visitors. The walls are sometimes decorated with mats of rush or bark, the latter variety frequently being of elaborate design.

As a rule no chimneys are built, the outlet for smoke being an ordinary stovepipe, which passes through an opening in the roof and projects several feet above.

Near the modern houses is frequently observed a summer residence made of saplings and covered with mats or bark to protect the occupants from the sun and rain. This primitive form of Menomini wigwam is made in the following manner:

Saplings of oak or other tough wood, not more than 2 inches thick at the base, are cut and planted about 3 feet apart so as to form an elliptical outline, with two openings for ingress and egress opposite each other, in the line of the greater diameter. Plate XVII represents the

framework of a wigwam of this character. The top and sides of this skeleton structure are covered with large sheets of birchbark and mats; sometimes pieces of canvas or an old blanket are added. The materials used for covering will be described later. After the poles have been planted or driven into the ground until they stand like the vertical sticks of a basket-maker's frame, they are drawn inward across the interior and securely tied with strips of basswood bark. The width of the wigwam is usually about 10 feet, and the length 14 or 16 feet. Horizontal poles are next lashed to the arched ribs, each from a foot and a half to 2 feet apart, excepting at the open or doorway ends of the structure, where the vertical poles are about 3 feet apart. Mats are then fastened to the framework on the outside, first in a continuous row at the bottom, the next row overlapping the first row, and so on until the top is reached. Over the dome are thrown pieces of bark—excepting at the center of the roof, where a smoke-hole is left.

FIG. 34—Bark domicile for summer use.

To complete the covering of the wigwam, mats are used as door flaps, the top of a mat being fastened to the top of each opening, while the other end is permitted to fall to the ground. To enter the structure, a person has merely to lift one side of the mat, allowing it to fall in place after entering.

The sides of the wigwam are covered with pieces of pine bark cut in sections long enough to extend from the ground to the roof. These pieces are fastened in place usually by strips of bark, but sometimes they are nailed.

Another variety of temporary structure of the Menomini, used generally during the summer when the natives go from home to pick berries, gather wild rice, or to dig snakeroot, is quickly made by planting five or six saplings on each side of a parallelogram; the ends are

WIGWAM COVERED WITH MATS

left open, and the top of each sapling on a given side is then bound down over its opposite fellow to form a roof somewhat resembling a wagon-top, as in figure 34. Horizontal saplings are then bound around the framework to make the structure secure, and over all are laid, longitudinally, a series of long strips of pine bark, the upper pieces overlapping those below, while a large piece is placed over the highest part of the roof, which thus sheds the rain or melting snow. This part completed, the end of the wigwam is protected by other pieces of bark placed slantingly against the side. To keep out mosquitoes, smudges are built at one or both ends of these lodges, that the smoke may be carried through the structure. The bedding is spread on the ground, and usually covers the entire floor.

Sometimes a so-called lean-to is built for short occupancy, or even for a single night's shelter from rain or dew. This variety of structure is made generally by laying short poles against a fallen tree trunk, the extreme pieces being about 6 or 7 feet apart; other poles or branches are then placed transversely upon these, and this rude framework is finally covered with brush and leaves.

Occasionally winter habitations of bark are constructed like those shown in plate XVIII.

Another form of Menomini shelter which may again be referred to is the sweat-lodge, resorted to by those who may feel indisposed, or by the shamans previously to undertaking any serious or difficult task. This variety of structure resembles a huge beehive, but may be a little less conical in shape. An illustration (plate XI) of the sweat-lodge has already been given in connection with the ceremonies of the Mitä'wit.

The tshi'saqkan or jugglery also has been described and illustrated (figure 20) in connection with the subject of that class of shamans. It is simply a large funnel-shape lodge, constructed of vertical poles with horizontal branches lashed on to serve as hoops, so to say. Over this frame birchbark, matting, or cloth is wrapped to hide the actions of the operator within. A ceremonial wigwam closely related to this is the previously mentioned mitä'wikõ'mik or medicine-lodge, represented in several forms in plates VI and XII and figures 5 and 9, which illustrate the different structures used during the annual performances.

OTHER STRUCTURES

Some of the more thrifty Indians erect, for use as stables, small log buildings with flat roofs of saplings covered with branches, straw, and earth. To the stable a small corral, consisting of vertical saplings, is attached to prevent the escape of the animals.

Poultry houses measuring from 6 to 8 feet square, built of logs with board roofs, are also common among the Menomini.

In recent years fences have been erected. These are usually either of posts or of clapboards, though many of the fields are inclosed by

"worm" fences. Sometimes vertical stakes are planted, saplings and branches being then entwined until the fence forms a veritable hedge.

FURNITURE AND IMPLEMENTS

BEDS

The recesses on each side of the longitudinal passageway of the Menomini wigwam are utilized for beds and bedding. Sometimes the ground is covered with pine boughs, over which the blankets and other bedding are thrown; but when the structure is to be occupied for a longer period than that covered by the sugar-making, or if the wigwam is intended to remain for more than one season, then a permanent platform, resembling a trundle bed, is erected, as shown in figure 35. Whenever possible, boards are laid across the head and foot poles of this primitive bedstead, thus making a comfortable platform on which to deposit and arrange the bedding and robes.

FIG. 35—Bedstead of saplings.

These beds consist of four short crotched poles, which form the legs, and on these are laid other poles to give it the ordinary size in length and breadth, though this frame is only from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Over the bed frame are placed boards or slats, upon which straw bags and a mattress are laid.

In some houses may be found an abundance of mosquito netting, for mosquitoes in the Menomini country are very annoying, especially in wet seasons. The material is placed over the bedstead as well as over the floor bedding, where children or the men sleep, and the windows and doors also are sometimes covered with it.

STOVES

Modern stoves are now used by nearly all the Menomini; but if these get out of order or beyond their control, the women resort to the custom in vogue before the whites came, of building a fire outdoors and suspending over it the kettle.

UTENSILS

Most of the dishes which they now use are made by the whites, though a few wooden spoons and ladles of native make are occasionally used by them. Musselshells also were formerly used as spoons, and their knives and axes were of stone. The Indians agree in the statement that the making of stone weapons[1] was discontinued by them four generations ago. Shu'nien remembers hearing the old people speak

[1] During a tour of Nevada and Arizona in 1871, the writer saw stone arrowpoints and knives still in use by the Chemehuevi and Walapai and by the Apache at Camp Apache. The arrowpoints used by the Apache at that time were made by themselves, and a number of specimens then obtained consisted of chert, obsidian, and bottle-glass, and a single specimen was of gold quartz. Arrowpoints fashioned from hoop-iron were also in use at that time. See pages 281-284.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

WINTER HABITATION OF BARK

about the manner of using these stone objects. The knives were made of flint (hornstone), and were about 8 inches long, an inch and a half broad, and sharply pointed; some indeed were sharp enough to cut moose skin with ease. These implements were used for cutting meat, for scraping arrowshafts, and in making bows.

Some of the Menomini say that musselshells are used even today, when necessity demands, both for spoons and for cutting. They are also sometimes used for scraping deerskin in tanning. The survival of the practice of thus using shells is not at all astonishing, for they serve the purpose as well as almost anything else, and thick strong shells of several species are abundant in the rivers of Wisconsin.

Earthenware is no longer made by the Menomini, though some of the oldest women remember when pottery making was engaged in.

MORTARS AND PESTLES

In one corner of the living room, or perhaps outside the door, will occasionally be found troughs fashioned from solid trunks for containing water for fowls and other domestic animals, and sometimes a wooden mortar (figure 36) for crushing medicinal roots and plants is observed.

FIG. 36—Wooden mortar and pestle.

These mortars are fashioned from a section of the trunk of an oak; they measure 11 inches in height, 10 inches in width, and 16 inches in length over the handles. The cavity, which is made by means of an ax, measures 9 inches in length and 7 inches in width at the top; it is 10 inches deep and terminates in a wedge-shape bottom, rounded so as to receive the end of a double-head pestle. The latter is about 37 inches in length, the ends being from 2 to 2¼ inches in diameter, while the middle third, which serves as a handle, is somewhat thinner. The specimen above figured, which was used for "medicine pounding" only, shows evidence of considerable age and much use.

TROUGHS

The troughs above mentioned are made in a manner similar to that in which the mortars are fashioned, and they are from 3 to 4 feet in length.

They appear to have been formerly used in sugar-making, but now are employed only for watering fowl, etc.

CRADLES AND HAMMOCKS

Cradleboards are used for the protection and convenient transportation of infants. These boards are made of any light wood, and measure about 30 inches in length and 16 inches in width. Across the top and front, and projecting forward therefrom, is a wooden band, which serves to hold the face cover, or mosquito bar, in summer time. The board is padded with a piece of quilt or blanket, over the upper end of which is sometimes placed a piece of buckskin on which the child's head may rest. To the lower portion of the board—that is, from the point where the arms emerge, downward—pieces of cloth or skin are tied across to fasten the child to the board. A space is always left about the middle of the body, in order that the child may receive attention when necessary.

Plate XIX represents an infant on a cradleboard, placed against the inner wall of a medicine lodge during the ceremonies at which the mother was an attendant.

Infants who have become too large for the cradleboard are put to sleep in hammocks. The Menomini hammock consists of a woolen shawl held together at each end by a cord; one of these cords is attached to a tree trunk, the other to a sapling placed slantingly against the tree. Near the head end of the shawl a piece of wood is inserted to keep the sides from pressing the child's face. The tendency of the hammock is to close tightly, and thus to hold the occupant quite securely. The simplicity of this form of hammock makes it very convenient for mothers, especially while domiciled in a temporary camp, since it may be suspended in a few moments.

PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURE

MATS

Several varieties of mats are made by Menomini women from leaves of rushes, from the flag or cat-o'-nine-tails, and from cedar bark. The leaf-made mats are used chiefly for roofing temporary structures, such as the covered medicine lodge shown in plate XII. These mats are from 6 to 12 feet in length and are usually a yard in width. They consist of two layers of leaves, each layer being secured by cords made of basswood fiber passed through transversely from one end of the mat to the other, to keep the edges of the leaves together. To each layer cords extend from end to end, at intervals of about 10 inches, thus leaving three or four cords to each layer, the ends of the leaves at the lateral edges of the mat being woven together to make a secure and durable seam. Each layer or sheet of leaves is therefore free from its fellow, so that when the rain falls on the mat, the water usually follows

INFANT ON CRADLEBOARD

the leaves on the inside of the mat. The extreme ends are secured by tying to two strips of wood, one above and one below, and wrapped with basswood cords. The rush-leaf mats are compactly woven, and are used upon the floors and in the medicine structure for seats.

Leaves for mat-making are prepared by first cutting them when green, then steeping them in boiling water, and laying them in the sun to bleach. Some leaves are then dyed, to produce in the final work various designs in colored stripes. These colors are chiefly dull green, red, and brown. The frame employed in making mats consists of two upright poles about 10 feet high and 6 to 8 feet apart (plate XX). Another pole is then tied transversely as high as the face of the worker. Along the crosspiece is then stretched a stout cord of basswood fiber, to which the leaves are attached by plaiting, thus making the latter pendent, one against the other, for as great a length as it is desired to make the mat. A long thread, also of basswood fiber, with a diameter of nearly three-sixteenths of an inch, is then attached to the left side of the row of leaves and run across toward the right by passing it in and out alternately over and beneath the leaves in succession. At intervals of every 4 or 6 inches a loop is made, to prevent the woof from slipping down, the loop being pulled out when another space of 4 or 6 inches is woven and stretched taut. The worker is occasionally obliged to spray water on the leaves, to make them pliable and to prevent breaking. When the right side is reached, the woof is secured to a heavier warp cord, which had been previously attached to the vertical pole. The colored leaves have already been placed at proper points, in the first instance, to give the desired stripes when finally woven. The lower edge is finished by cutting the leaves of equal length and plaiting them from left to right, when the last leaves are turned under and tied. A typical specimen of rush mat is illustrated in plate XXI.

Bark mats are now rare among the Menomini; plate XXII represents an entire specimen, while in plate XXIII a section only is shown. They are made of the inner bark of the cedar, cut in strips averaging half an inch in width. Some of the mats are nearly white, others are colored dark red and sometimes black with native vegetal dyes. The decoration is effectively produced in diamond and lozenge patterns, as well as in zigzag lines, both by color and by the weaving of the weft strips, the latter being accomplished by taking up and dropping certain numbers of the warp strips.

BASKETS

Baskets are made much on the same principle of plaiting as is employed for bark mats. The strips or osiers are made from black elm, the necessary limbs being from 3 to 4 inches in diameter (figure 37); these are thoroughly hammered with a wooden mallet (figure 38) until the individual layers of the branch are detached from the

layers immediately beneath. These layers are then cut into thin narrow strips by means of the knife universally used (figure 39). The

FIG. 37—Elm log for making splints.

strips are kept in coils (figure 40) until ready for use, when they are soaked in water. Figure 41 illustrates a finished basket.

Cutting is always done away from the hand holding the material to be cut, and toward the body.

FIG. 38—Mallet.

The club or mallet employed in hammering the elm wood is about 20 inches long and has one end thinner, so as to form a handle.

TWINE AND ROPE

Thread, cord, twine, and rope are made of vegetal fiber, the chief material being derived from the inner bark of the young sprouts of basswood. The bark is removed in sheets and boiled in water to which a large quantity of lye from wood ashes has been added. This softens the fiber and permits the worker to manipulate it without breaking. The shoulder-blade of a deer or other large animal is then nailed or otherwise fastened to an upright post, and through it a hole about an inch in diameter is drilled; through this hole bunches of the boiled bark are pulled backward and forward, from right to left, to remove from it all splinters or other hard fragments. After the fiber has become soft and pliable, bunches of it are hung up in hanks, to be twisted as desired.

FIG. 39—Knife of native workmanship.

The manner of making cord or twine, such as is used in weaving mats and for almost all other household purposes, is by holding in the left hand the fiber as it is pulled from a hank, and separating it into two parts, which are laid across the thigh. The palm of the right hand is then rolled forward over both, so as to tightly twist the pair of strands, when they are permitted to unite and twist into a cord. The twisted end being pushed a little to the right,

MAT MAKING

the next continuous portion of the united strands also are twisted to form a single cord. The same process is followed in all fiber twisting, even to the finest nettle thread.

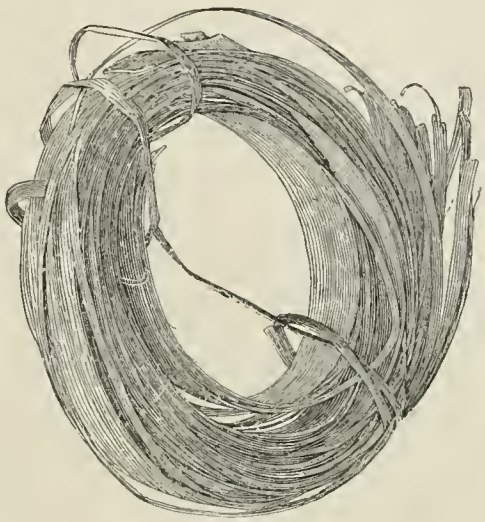


FIG. 40—Coil of basket strips.

TANNING

Deerskins are tanned by the Menomini, as among the other tribes of the region of the great lakes. The inner surface of the skin is first cleaned of all shreds of fiber and meat, after which it is soaked in water, rubbed and kneaded, and then passed around an upright pole or sapling, and twisted to expel the water. Rubbing and kneading are now again necessary, to soften the skin and to prevent stiffening. Sometimes the brains of a deer are rubbed into the skin, which is then stretched and pulled and rubbed until dry. This is supposed to prevent the subsequent stiffening of buckskin garments when subjected to water or rain. The hair is removed by laying the skin on a large smooth piece of wood, or by stretching it on a frame or on the ground. This process is represented in plate XXIV, in connection with which another stage of tanning also is illustrated. This is almost the final process—that of hanging the skin like an inverted bag or funnel over a small fire, in order that the smoke may penetrate the skin and cure it.

FIG. 41—Finished basket.

MEDICINE BAGS

The members of the Mitä'wit employ for medicine bags the skins of small animals, birds, and snakes, also panther and bear paws, and similar objects of animal origin; but at no time have bags been seen or even heard of, made of any part of a fish. The reason for this could not be ascertained from the Indians themselves, but an explanation of the tabu will perhaps be found in the mythology relating to the totems.

When an animal is to be skinned for the purpose of making a medicine bag, an incision is made in the breast, and through this the carcass is removed, leaving the skin of the head, feet, and tail entire. The skin is then turned inside out and tanned, after which the fur side is turned out and the eye-holes ornamented with beadwork. The bags are wrapped with colored cords or with strings of beads, and the under side of the tail is sometimes lined with a strip of red flannel, on which is worked a design in beads (plates VIII and IX, and figure 13). Sometimes the flannel is decorated with small brass bells, with claws, or with the rattle of a rattlesnake. One bag of this character, made of an otter skin, was provided with a clever contrivance: By pressing on a small rubber ball within the body, the air was forced through the tube into the mouth, where a small whistle had been attached. The sound resembled closely the voice of the otter, and the credulous firmly believed that the sound was the voice of the shade of that animal.

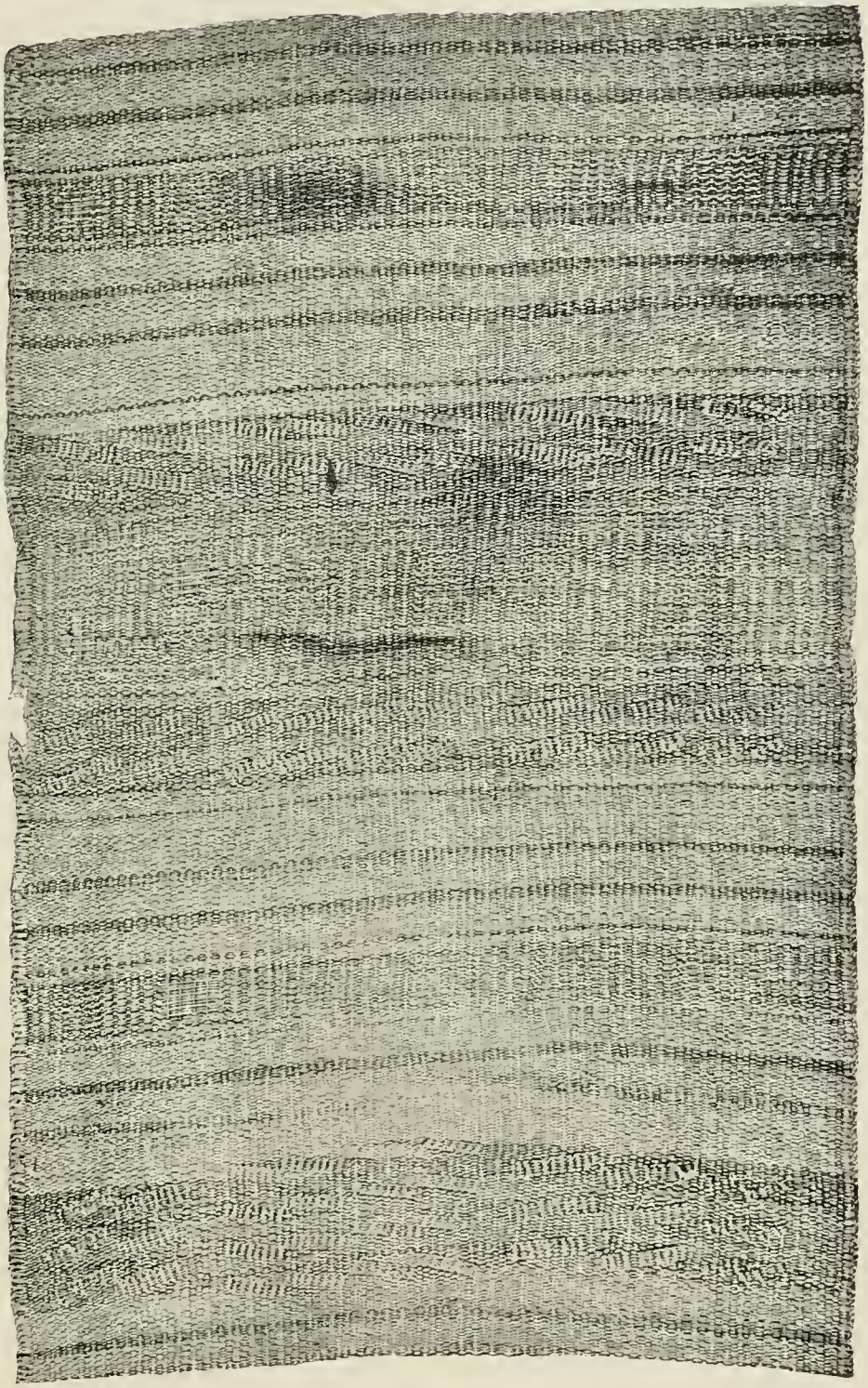
The writer's own medicine bag, given to him by his shamanistic preceptor, is made of a mink skin, neatly ornamented about the eyes with beads, and with two small round steel bells attached to the nose. These bags are used for holding various parcels of mystic remedies and charmed objects employed by the shamans in the profession of incantation or exorcism. The bags are reputed as very dangerous to the uninitiated, and, for the purpose of preventing trouble or danger, medicine men frequently keep their sacks hidden outside of their domiciles, so that no one not entitled to do so should have an opportunity of touching them.

The kind of medicine bag used by the mitäi'ᵉ depends on the dream which the individual may have had in his youth. Fasting is practiced by the young man, or boy, to find favor with the ma'nidos. During the fast he retires from the camp and abstains from all food until he become so debilitated as to attain a delirious or ecstatic condition, in which appear visions of various ma'nidos, either in human or in other animate form. Dreams of birds or animals lead the faster to believe that he will be invested with the same power of self-defense as is possessed by the animal of which he has dreamed. If it is possible, therefore, for the faster to procure a bag made of the skin or other part of the animal which appeared to him in the vision, he will do his utmost to possess it, even at the risk of great danger or the parting with any of his possessions.

An instance of the belief in the power of the peq'tshiku'na, or medicine bag, is related as occurring among the neighboring Ojibwa.[1] It is as follows:

A canoe manned with warriors was once pursued by a number of others, all filled with their enemies. They endeavoured to escape, paddling with all their might, but the enemy still gained upon them; then the old warriors began to call for the

[1] Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, London (1861), pp. 89–90.



RUSH MAT

assistance of those things they had dreamt of during their fast-days. One man's munedoo was a sturgeon, which being invoked, their speed was soon equal to that of this fish, leaving the enemy far behind; but the sturgeon being short-winded, was soon tired, and the enemy again advanced rapidly upon them. The rest of the warriors, with the exception of one young man who, from his mean and ragged appearance, was considered a fool, called the assistance of their gods, which for a time enabled them to keep in advance. At length, having exhausted the strength of all their munedoos, they were beginning to give themselves up for lost, the other canoes being now so near as to turn to head them, when just at this critical moment the foolish young man thought of his medicine bag, which in their flight he had taken off from his side and laid in the canoe. He called out, "Where is my medicine bag?" The warriors told him to be quiet; what did he want with his medicine bag at this perilous time? He still shouted, "Where is my medicine bag?" They again told him to paddle and not trouble them about his medicine bag. As he persisted in his cry, "Where is my medicine bag?" one of the warriors seeing it by his side took it up and threw it to him. He, putting his hand into it, pulled out an old pouch made of the skin of a Saw-bill, a species of duck. This he held by the neck to the water. Immediately the canoe began to glide swiftly at the usual speed of a Saw-bill; and after being propelled for a short time by this wonderful power, they looked back and found they were far beyond the reach of the enemy, who had now given up the chase. Surely this Indian deserved a patent for his wonderful propelling power, which would have superseded the use of the jarring and thumping steamboats, now the wonder and admiration of the American Indian. The young man then took up his pouch, wrung the water out of it, and replaced it in his bag; telling the Indian that he had not worn his medicine bag about his person for nothing,—that in his fast he had dreamt of this fowl, and was told that in all dangers it would deliver him, and that he should possess the speed and untiring nature of the Saw-bill duck. The old warriors were astonished at the power of the young man whom they had looked upon as almost an idiot, and were taught by him a lesson, never to form a mean opinion of any persons from their outward appearance.

A similar exhibition of the alleged power of the medicine bag has been referred to in connection with mitä'ᵛ ceremonies, in which an Ojibwa woman is said to have caused her snake-skin bag to become a living reptile, and to have chased for a considerable distance one of the doubting Indian commissioners present.

SNOWSHOES

The Menomini snowshoe varies in form and size according to the individual as well as to the sex of the person who is to use it. Figure 42 represents a type, which it will be observed differs from that of the neighboring Ojibwa shown in figure 44.

The toe of the Menomini snowshoe is transverse, and has a thinning of the frame to admit of a short turn without breaking. The frame is made of ash; it is 38 inches in length and is somewhat of boat shape, with a thick heel. The inside or upper part is divided, as usual, into three sections by two crossbars, and the intervening spaces of the anterior and posterior are filled in by a fine network of thin fibers made either of sinew or of buckskin. The middle space is 11½ inches broad, and is filled in with closely plaited thongs of rawhide or buckskin—usually the former—at the anterior portion of which is an opening for the move-

ment of the toes after the foot has been secured by the loose loop of cords which passes over the heel.

The specimen illustrated (figure 42) is the type usually worn by men, the style used by women being longer and narrower, while that for children is shorter and proportionally broader, as shown in figure 43.

FIG. 42—Snowshoe for men—Menomini type.

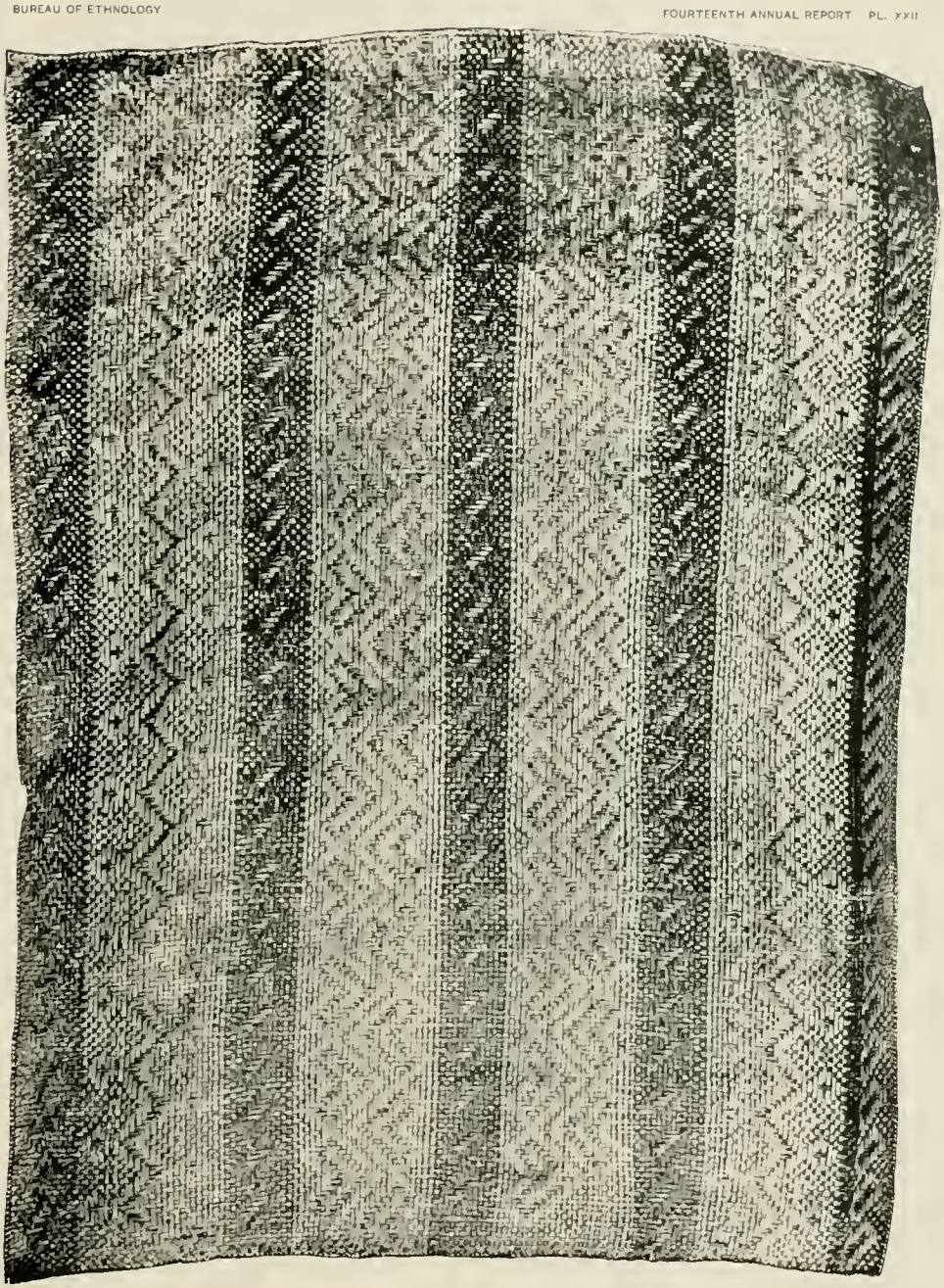
DRESS, ORNAMENTS, BEADWORK, AND DRILLING

In referring to the practices of Ojibwa shamans,[1] I had occasion to remark that while it was customary among many tribes to use as little clothing as possible when engaged in dancing, either of a social or ceremonial nature, the Menomini, on the contrary, vie with one another in appearing in the most costly and gaudy costume obtainable. Like the Ojibwa, the Menomini mitä'wok take particular pride in their appearance when attending the ceremonies of the Mitä'wit, and seldom fail to impress this fact on visitors; as some of the Siouan tribes, who have adopted similar medicine ceremonies after the custom of their Algonquian neighbors, are frequently without any clothing other than breechcloth, moccasins, and armlets and other attractive ornaments. This disregard of dress is regarded by the Menomini as a sacrilegious digression from the ancient usages, and it frequently excites severe comment.

Apart from facial ornamentation of such design as may take the actor's fancy, or in accordance with the degree in the society to which the subject may have attained, a mitä'w priest wears shirt, trousers, and moccasins, the first two of which may consist of flannel or cloth and be either plain or ornamented with beads, while the moccasins are always of buckskin, or, what is more highly prized, moose skin, beaded or worked with colored porcupine quills.

Immediately below each knee is tied a garter—a necessary accompaniment of a Menomini's dress. This garter consists of a band of beads varying in different specimens from 2 to 4 inches in width and

[1] Seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 298.



BARK MAT

from 18 to 20 inches in length, to each end of which strands of colored yarn, 2 feet long, are attached, so as to admit of being passed around the leg and tied in a bowknot in front (plates XXV, XXVI, XXVII).

Bands of flannel or buckskin, handsomely beaded, are sometimes attached to the sides of the pantaloons, in imitation of an officer's stripes, as well as around the bottom. Colors also are used, in addition to necklaces of claws, shells, or other objects.

Armlets and bracelets also are sometimes worn; these are made of bands of beadwork, though brass wire or other pieces of metal are preferred. Three of such necklaces are shown in plate XXVIII.

FIG. 43—Ojibwa and Menomini children's showshoe.

Bags made of cloth, and entirely covered with beads or otherwise ornamented, are worn at the side, being supported by means of a broad band or baldric passing over the opposite shoulder (plate XXIX). The head is decorated with disks of metal and tufts of dyed horse hair, or moose hair, and with eagle feathers, to designate the particular exploits performed by the wearer.

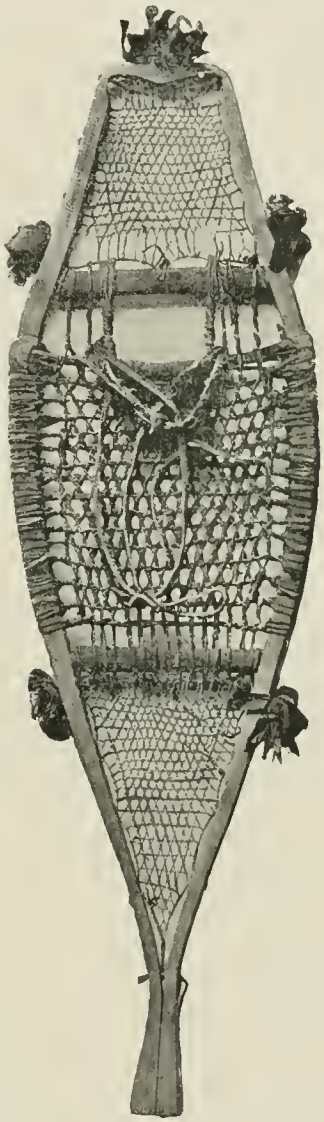


FIG. 44—Snowshoe for women—Ojibwa type.

Previous to the advent of white traders, or before they were able to procure by purchase or barter beads of European manufacture, the Menomini claim to have made large beads from shells found in the rivers of Wisconsin and on the shores of Green bay. Quite a variety of large and exceedingly beautiful freshwater shells occur in the rivers of Wisconsin, and it would be strange indeed if the natives did not utilize the iridescent pearl for ornamentation when at the same time they used them as knives. Among some of the old mitä'ᵛ women large beads, together with the elongated shell beads purchased at traders'

stores, are worn—beads of sufficiently primitive appearance to induce one to believe the assertion that their people had made them.

These beads were evidently made from the thick portions, or perhaps joints, of freshwater mussels; they are of the size of buckshot, with a perforation drilled from each side toward the middle. The perforations being somewhat of funnel shape, and showing marked striæ, would indicate that the drilling had been made with other than a metal instrument. On subsequent investigation respecting the manufacture of articles requiring perforation, I was informed that the Menomini used sharp-pointed pieces of quartz and jasper, rotating these rude drills with the hand and fingers. As regards the use of the bow-drill, either for making fire or for drilling stone or shells, no definite information could be ascertained, as none of the more intelligent or aged natives remembered having seen them in use.

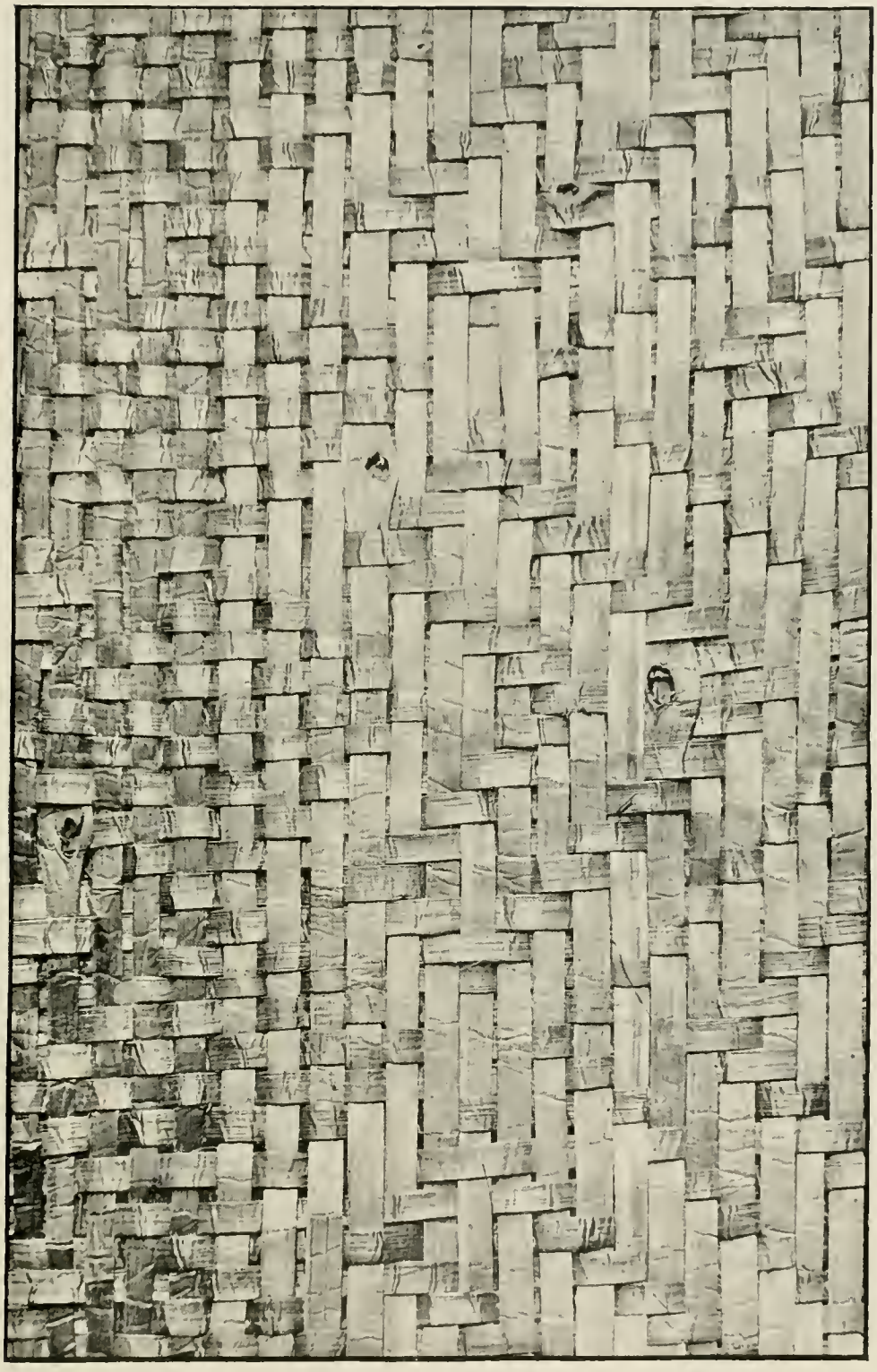
Although fire-sticks were used for making fire and for drilling harder substances, like bone and shell, the aperture drilled was probably not of greater depth than could conveniently be accomplished by rotating by hand the drill point of silicious material used.

As a matter of interest and comparison, it may be appropriate to state in this connection that the Chumash, an extinct tribe who formerly inhabited Santa Cruz island, opposite Santa Barbara, California, formerly made globular shell beads similar to those found in Wisconsin. The tribe referred to were also the manufacturers of the beautiful stone and shell weapons found on the Pacific coast, where the subject of shell and bone drilling may be studied in every variety of ornament. The most interesting shell beads found in this locality are made from the tivola, abelone, etc. The cylindrical shell beads, the smallest of which are three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and an inch and a quarter in length, have "perforations but little more than a millimeter (or less than one-sixteenth of an inch) in diameter, and the difficulty in making them must have been very great."[1] Large quantities of these beads have been discovered, and some specimens procured by the writer are 4 or 5 inches in length, with a bore just large enough to permit the passage of a broom straw. Even smaller perforations are noted in the work just cited.

In the recent excavation of graves, bundles of thin triangular pieces or spicules of hornstone have been found. Each of these bundles contains several hundred specimens, the individual drills being carefully flaked from a core so as to be almost perfectly triangular longitudinally, gradually tapering to a sharp point. These specimens have an average length of an inch and three-fourths, and a diameter at the thicker end not exceeding one-eighth of an inch.

These delicate drills had no doubt been employed in making the indentations at the ends of the cylindrical beads, which subsequently served

[1] Wheeler's report U. S. Geog. Survey West of the 100th Meridian, Washington, vol. vii, p. 266, pl. xiii.



SECTION OF BARK MAT

as a starting point for the bristle drill used in perforating the entire length of the bead.

In several graves opened during the summer of 1884, there were found, among other articles, bundles of the whiskers or bristles of the sea lion (*Zalophus californicus*), which animal, together with one or two species of seals, formerly abounded along the southern coast of California and the islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and others. The bristles of this animal are now highly prized by the Chinese of the Pacific coast, who tip them with gold and use them as toothpicks on account of their elasticity and strength.

In investigating a large collection of long beads from the Pacific coast, curved as cut from the shells themselves, the author found that several of the specimens had been split longitudinally, exposing to view an interesting interior, and suggesting a solution of the method employed in making the delicate perforations. The bead having received a preliminary drilling at each end, as before mentioned, by using the triangular fragment of hornstone—the ends of nearly all perforations being rather flaring or of funnel shape—the bristle was next applied, and twirled or rotated between the thumb and fingers, while, at the point of contact with the shell, silicious silt or fine sand was applied to aid in cutting away the calcareous matter of the shell. The soft stratum between two layers of the harder enamel was naturally followed by the drill, thus without the slightest difficulty causing the perforation to be curved, from end to end, to conform to the convexity of the shell from which the bead was made.

In some of the shorter beads which have split longitudinally, exposing the bore, it is shown that the drilling was accomplished from both ends, the axis of the perforation from each end being in a perfectly straight line, the two perforations meeting at or near the middle of the specimen. In some examples the two perforations were shown to pass each other; in these instances the bead was thrown aside, and subsequent splitting exposed to view the condition described.

In shells of abnormal convexity and having a length of more than 3 or 4 inches, perforations in a straight line from either end would not always reach the middle along the line of least resistance, as offered by the softer calcareous stratum, but would sometimes emerge from the sides, leaving a portion of the middle part of the bead solid. That the bore followed the course of the curve of the bead, the bristle drill continuing between the superior and inferior strata of harder enamel, is shown in many examples.[1]

Substances having the texture of bristles, human skin, etc, are less liable to destruction by erosion from the application of silt, or fine sand, than harder mineralogic materials. This is demonstrated by the use of the sand blast, and also by practical experiments in drilling with bone, wood, and porcupine quills, and the whiskers or bristles of mam-

[1] Wheeler's report, etc, op. cit.

mals. The tough, bony, or semisilicious surface of such materials offers just sufficient softness to grip the particles of sand and to direct more force on the mineral substance or shell.

A common method of drilling by using the palms of the hands to rotate the drill necessitates the placing of the object to be drilled on the ground in the hands of another, or between the feet of the operator. When so slender and delicate an object as a cylindrical shell bead was to be worked, it was held in one hand whilst the bristle was twirled with the other. The silt could readily be applied as required by simply dipping the bristle into it, as it may have been kept wet in a steatite bowl or a shell vessel.

The condition of the transverse striæ present in the perforations, as exposed in split beads, lends additional testimony to the process of drilling by the use of silicious matter, as above suggested. The rapidity of the rotary motion of the bristle, or pressure upon it while in rotation, is also indicated in long beads by the gradual expansion at regular points in the bore as would result from the lateral vibration of the bristle, one side of such a bore following an undulating line, as a musical cord in vibration, or in the graphic illustration of a sound wave.

When drilling was done in hard shells, in which no soft stratum existed, the drill holes would frequently not meet at the middle, and in such beads a semicylindrical cut was made in the side of the bead at the middle, so as to pass half-way through the lateral diameter of the bead, exposing the drill holes and allowing the ends of the cord to emerge at that point to admit of tying. Such beads were evidently used in necklaces, whereas the long, thin, curved beads were used for earrings and hair ornaments, this use being suggested by the relative position to the skeleton as they were found in graves.

Emblems of personal valor or of exploits are seldom seen. No warfare between the Menomini and neighboring tribes has occurred for many years, and the custom of wearing specially marked feathers, to indicate some particular action or achievement, has long since fallen into desuetude. Head ornaments, such as the tail of a buck, are sometimes worn, to denote that the wearer is a fleet-footed runner, especially in the ball game; or he may wear hawk feathers as indicating the phratry of which his clan is a member.

Menomini moccasins are made of buckskin, with soles of par-fleche or rawhide. The front is sometimes ornamented with beads, the tongue having a rectangular pattern in beads stitched on it. The sole of the moccasin is cut from the rawhide, and is outlined from the bare foot. The upper is made of a single piece of buckskin, with the seam at the heel. The flap remaining after the cuts are made to admit the foot is thrown forward so as to lie down toward the front over the instep, and then has the bead ornamentation on what was previously the inside.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

TANNING

The moccasin is fastened to the ankle by a buckskin thong passed around the top through a number of holes, which permit it to slide easily while being fastened.

The garters above referred to are made by the women in such patterns as they may be able to design or elaborate. There is a general type of diamond and lozenge shape outlines, sometimes of solid colors, though more frequently filled in by sharply contrasting tints. Frets, vines, and meanders also are common. The accompanying illustrations (plates XXV–XXIX) will better convey an idea of the variety of patterns in use by Menomini beadworkers.

Many if not all of these designs used in beadworking have been introduced among the Menomini by intercourse with the Ojibwa, with whom they have been friendly neighbors from the earliest historic times. This is shown not only by the identical patterns existing among both tribes, but is evident also from the frequent intertribal traffic, existing even at this day. So late as 1891 a specially appointed delegation left Red Lake, Minnesota, to visit all the Ojibwa and Menomini settlements in southern Minnesota and in Wisconsin, to gather every available large specimen of beadwork for traffic with the Arikara and Hidatsa of North Dakota, from whom the northern Ojibwa obtain horses. Annual visits were made by the Ojibwa to these tribes, and the latter would, in time, procure more horses, in exchange for the beadwork from the Crows of Montana. In this manner the Ojibwa and Menomini beadwork gradually found its way as far west as the Selish Indians, in northwestern Idaho, from whom examples have been recovered.

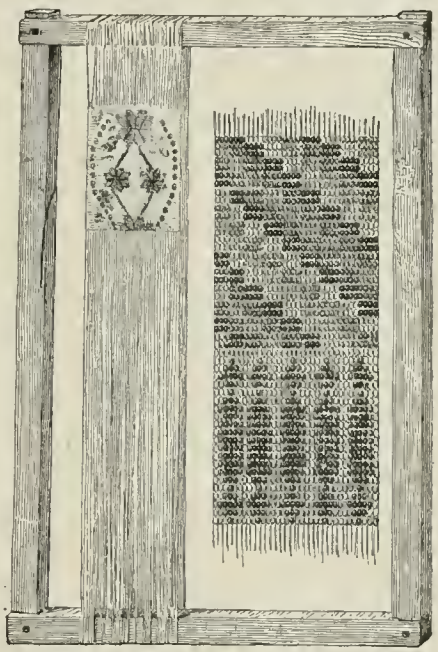


FIG. 45—Frame holding unfinished beadwork.

Recently some enterprising individuals have introduced machine-made beadwork and disposed of it through the traders. The original methods of making it, as pursued by the Indian women, is slow and difficult, and in no instance do they appear to receive a fair compensation for their labor. The work is usually done without the aid of patterns or diagrams. There are three processes of embroidering with beads, and as all the work, excepting that in which the beads are sewed directly on cloth or buckskin, is made by a definite system, a

description of the process may be of interest, especially as this subject has hitherto been untouched.

After deciding on the article to be worked—a garter, for example—a frame of wood is made sufficiently large to extend from 4 to 6 inches beyond the finished piece. Figure 45 represents a frame of this character. The pieces of wood are usually of pine, 2 inches broad and from a half to three-fourths of an inch thick, made rigid by screws or thongs, where the pieces intersect. Threads of linen are then wrapped vertically over the top and bottom, each thread being a bead's width from the next. In some instances, as will be referred to later, the threads are wrapped so as to run by pairs. These form the warp. The number of threads depends on the width of the proposed design.

The pattern is begun at the lower end, several inches from the frame. A fine needle is threaded, the other end of the fiber being secured to one of the lateral threads of the warp; then the needle is passed through a bead of the desired tint of the ground color of the garter, and the thread passed under one vertical or warp cord; another bead is then taken up, after which the needle is pushed along over the next cord; and then another bead being threaded, the needle is again passed along under the next following cord, and so on alternately above and beneath the warp cords until the other side is reached, when the outer cord is merely inclosed by one turn. The same process is followed in the return to the side from which the beginning was made, except that the threads alternate, the woof being now above instead of below the warp cords. Figure 46 represents the process described.

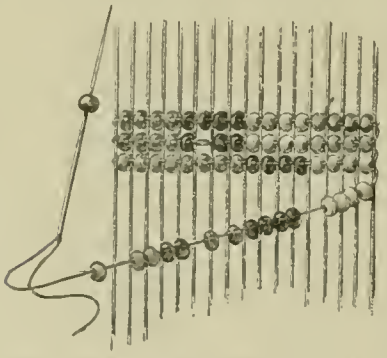
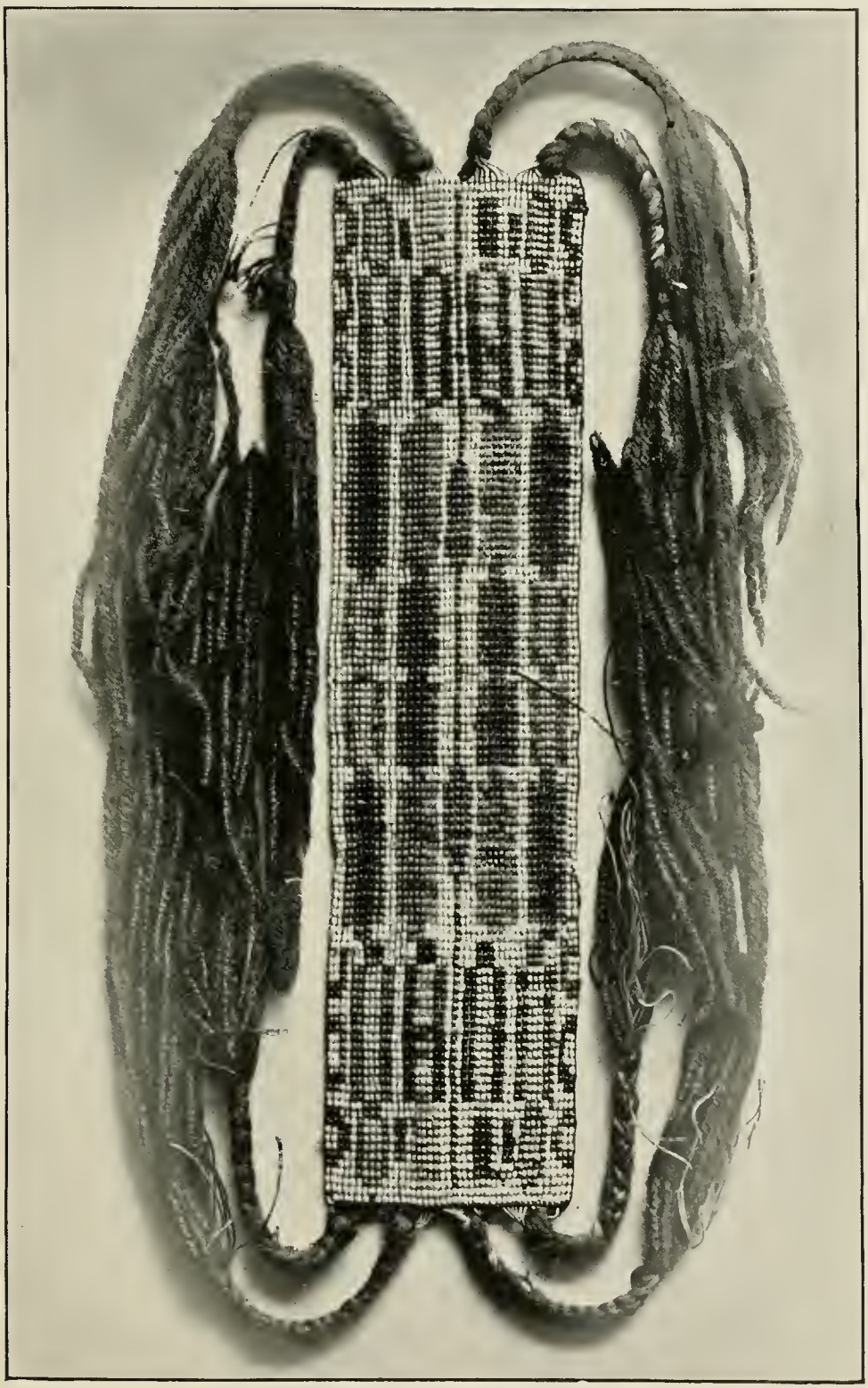


FIG. 46—Design of first variety of working in beads.

The chief difficulty which one encounters is in remembering the exact point at which a new pattern should appear, as the color of the bead required for this must be inserted at the proper time and the number of spaces carefully counted and reserved for use as the pattern is developed. Reference to the illustrations will aid further in the elucidation of this difficulty. When the design is completed, the warp-cords are gathered by bunches of two's or three's and tied in knots, so as to prevent the dislodgment of the woof fibers and the consequent destruction of the entire fabric. To these ends are afterward attached strands of woolen yarn to lengthen the garter, so as to reach around the leg and admit of tying in a bowknot (plate XXV).

The above illustrates the simplest method of working beads. The type of beadworking shown in figure 47 is a little more complicated. In this there are two vertical warp cords or threads between each two



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

beads, there being an alternate movement of the pair of warp cords backward and forward, thus making it similar in appearance to the preceding pattern, excluding the beads, when the latter are placed sidewise.

The woof thread is run to the side of the garter, and a bead is then passed through and returned in the next upper space, where another row of beads is taken up to continue the design. When the opposite border of the garter is reached, a single bead is again threaded and permitted to extend as a projection to guard the external warp threads against injury.

A third variety of beadwork is effected by using the vertical warp cords as before, but instead of passing the threaded needle through one bead at a time, whenever a vertical thread is passed, the necessary number of beads required to reach across the pattern, as well as the proper arrangement of colors to carry out the design, are threaded and laid down on the warp so that each bead falls within its proper space; then, as the lateral thread is inclosed by the weft thread, the needle is passed back through the same row of beads, but this time beneath the warp instead of above, thus entirely inclosing the weft. This requires a delicate needle and a fine though strong thread. This variety of beadwork is usually found only in garters, whereas the other two forms occur in almost all other kinds of bead objects, such as the sheets used in making medicine bags, in collars, baldrics, belts, and narrow strips, the two ends being fastened together by tying or otherwise. The cord itself is then decorated with beads by simply threading on a single fiber and wrapping this about the primary piece from one end to the other. By a little care in the proper selection and arrangement of colors, very pretty effects are produced.

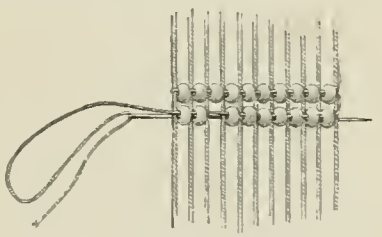


FIG. 47—Design of second variety of working in beads.

Beads are stitched on clothing, moccasins, etc, by simply threading one or more beads on the needle and sewing them down along the outlines marked on the outside and afterward the inside of the article which it is designed to ornament.

As a rule, the ends of the pieces of beadwork are at right angles to the direction of the warp, but in many small examples, such as collars or necklaces, the ends terminate diagonally, an effect produced by the successive rows containing one or two beads less than the preceding row, the diagonal side being on one side of the article only, and not divided so as to turn toward a central apex by simultaneously leaving off one or more beads on both sides.

In the third variety of bead-weaving there are only single vertical threads between each two beads as in the first named, but the cross-

threads forming the woof are double instead of single, and as the threads pass through the bead they diverge so as to inclose the warp, after which they again unite to pass through the next bead. An example of this is shown in figure 48. The lateral edges of the garter may be smooth or beaded—that is, the threads may either simply inclose the outside vertical thread and return to take up the next upper row of beads, or they may pass through one bead and then return on the next line. The object of the lateral beads, which project edgewise, is for the same purpose as that mentioned in connection with the second class of weaving.

Dance bags—so called because they are ornamental and worn chiefly by well-to-do Indians at dances—are made of a piece of cloth or buckskin about 15 inches square, from the two upper corners of which a continuous band or baldric, 4 or 5 inches broad, extends upward so as to pass over the shoulder opposite the side on which the bag is worn. The entire piece of material is covered by a sheet of beadwork, bearing designs similar to those on the garters, though frequently more elaborately combined or grouped. The flat part of the bag contains a very narrow slit for a pouch, the latter being often no larger than a vest pocket (plate XXIX).

FIG. 48—Third form of working in beads.

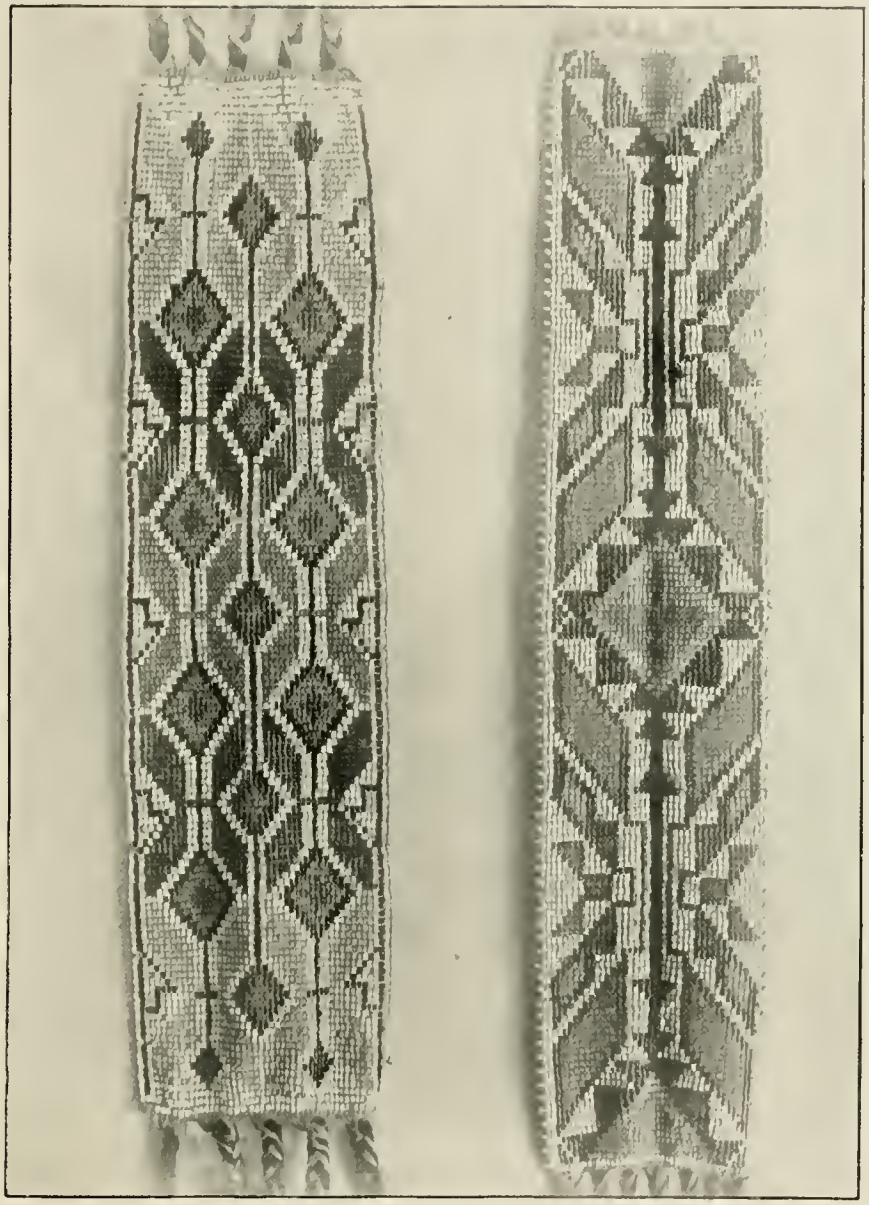
A medicine-man considers himself fortunate if he owns one of these bags. The ordinary number worn by the mitä'wok is three or four, part of them being worn at the left side, the others at the right. Sometimes a dozen such bags are worn by a single individual, beside other bead ornaments consisting of necklaces, breast-pieces, garters, armlets, etc, until the weight of the decorations causes him considerable inconvenience in these prolonged ceremonies.

Beaded belts also are worn, but originally all belts were made of fiber. Woolen yarn is now employed in weaving strips, about 6 inches wide and 3 feet long, from each end of which a fringe extends a foot and a half or more beyond. The texture is close, and the warp consists of strands of almost every obtainable color, twisted together in an apparent tangle, though on close inspection the color designs appear to consist of lozenge-shape stripes, and sometimes diagonal lines returning to the side from which the first deviation was made, thus often resembling an elongated zigzag pattern.

HUNTING AND FISHING

GAME OF THE MENOMINI REGION

Hunting is still engaged in by the Menomini, though not to such an extent as formerly. The mammals most abundant in their country are the black bear, deer, hare, porcupine, wildcat, and lynx. Occasionally



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

a panther, wolf, beaver, or an otter is reported as having been seen, but grouse and ptarmigan are somewhat scarce.

FISH AND FISHERIES

Sturgeon and trout were caught in great quantities in the early days, the former chiefly by means of the spear. Previous to the erection of dams in Wolf river, great numbers of sturgeon migrated upward each spring to spawn, and Indians were then stationed along the river at favorable places ready to cast the spear when the fish appeared. Many of these fish are from 4 to 5 feet in length. The excitement during their capture was intense, and even now frequently forms the topic of animated conversation relating to bygone days.

While the tribe still occupied the shores of Green bay, great numbers of lake fish were caught, chiefly among which, on account of the excellence of its food, was the white fish. At that time, as well as subsequently, gill-nets were used for placing along favorable places near the shore. These nets were made of cords of native fibers, the process of twisting which is elsewhere described. From the wild hemp and the nettle fine strings were twisted for use as fishing lines, the hooks being made of two pieces of bone joined together at the lower extremity so as to resemble a V in shape. One arm of the hook was longer than the other, and to this longer arm the line was attached.

TRAPS

Two forms of game traps are used by the Menomini; the larger is the dead fall, made of logs and used in catching bear. The other is made somewhat on a similar principle, though much smaller, and is used only for small mammals. This trap, represented in plate XXX, is made as follows:

Four stakes, each about 2 inches in diameter and from 18 to 20 inches high, are driven into the ground, so that they form the corners of a parallelogram, as shown by 1, 2, 3, and 4 of figure 49. The two pairs of stakes are about 20 inches apart, with just sufficient space between those of each pair to permit a sapling to slide between them. A short piece of sapling, 4 inches in diameter, is then placed on the ground, the ends being made to project beyond each pair of upright posts. The sapling, 4 inches in diameter and 10 to 12 feet long, is taken as the movable or falling piece, which rests on the short stick just mentioned. A short distance to the side (at 5, figure 49) is a short, stout peg, with a notch on one side, to which is attached a cord, while on the opposite side (at 6) is another short peg, to which is attached a salted string. In plate XXX the trap is represented

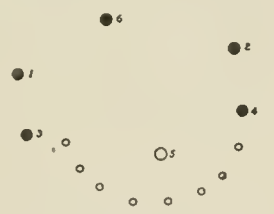


FIG. 49—Groundplan of trap for small game.

as set. On the post marked in the above diagram is a short stick, to the inner end of which is attached a cord strong enough to hold up the fallen log, while at the other or outer end is another cord extending to the peg marked 5. This cord has previously been soaked in brine, as has also the string extending from the middle of the vertical cord across the inside of the trap to the opposite peg (at 6). The latter string, being salted, is a sufficient bait to tempt a hare or other rodent to gnaw the string along its course to the upright cord, which latter, if gnawed in twain, permits the fallen log to drop on the animal's back and thus secure it without injury to the pelt. To prevent the animal from approaching the trap from the side (at 5), stakes are driven into the ground, as indicated by the small circles in the figure.

Bear traps are composed of a sort of pen or corral, of upright posts, leaving but one entrance, through which the bear is compelled to pass in order to reach the tempting morsel of meat with which the trap is baited. The meat is attached to a cord, which is so arranged that the slightest disarrangement of the meat will cause the dead-fall to drop. This dead-fall consists of the trunk of a tree, weighted with stones or timber sufficient to crush the animal.

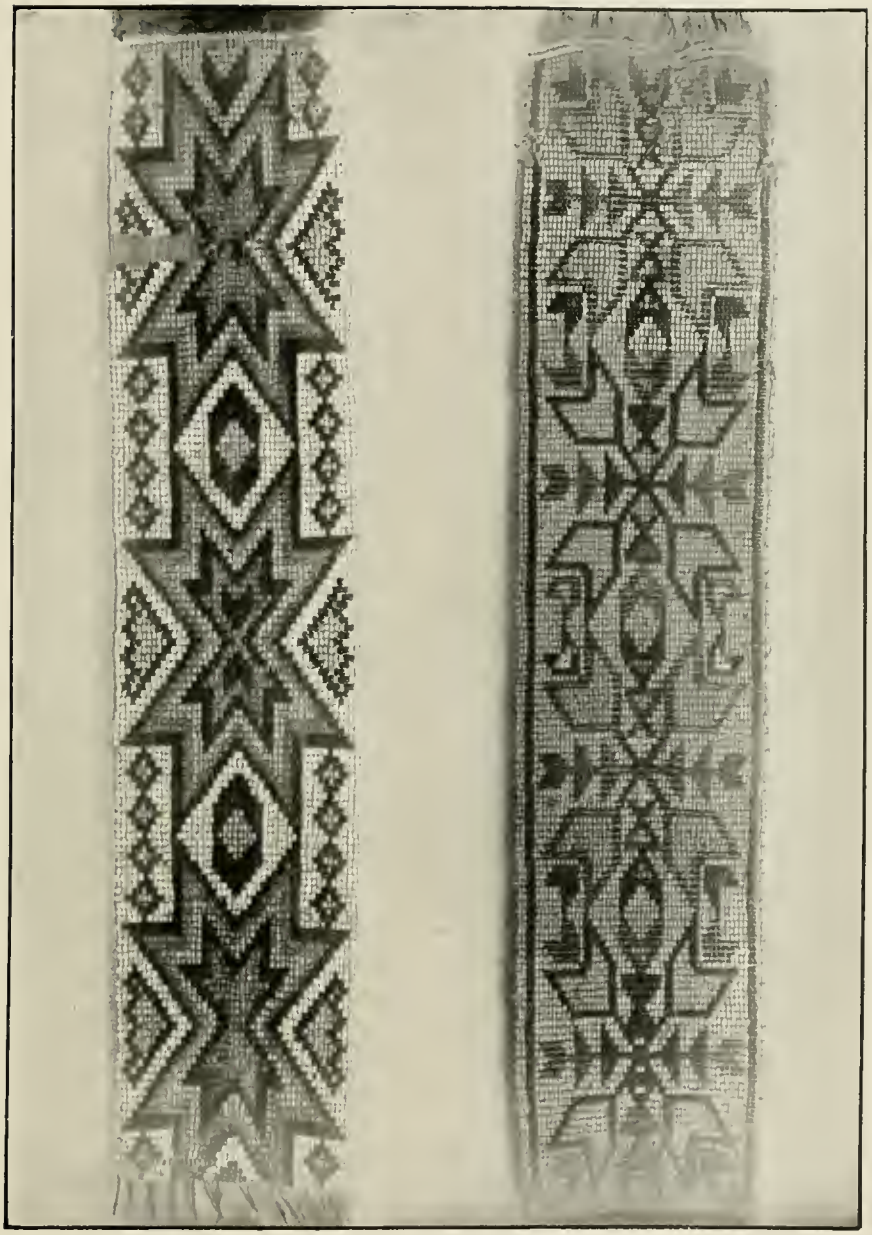
Women seldom participate in hunting, although both Ojibwa and Menomini women devote special attention to ensnaring the lynx and the wildcat. These animals are regarded by the Indians as very stupid, because they are so easily taken.

When a trail is discovered in the snow, indicating the course taken by a lynx or a wildcat in leaving and returning to its lair, the woman finding it will search for a spot where the trail passes near by a tree or through a copse. She will then take a strong cord or a string of sinew and, after tying an end to one side of the trail, will make a simple loop 8 or 10 inches in diameter, and tie the other end to a tree or post on the other side of the trail. The loop is then set up by means of thin sticks placed transversely across the trail, so as to be brought just high enough for the head of the animal to pass through it. When the animal thus finds itself entangled in the noose, instead of backing away it will push forward, causing the noose to tighten more and more until death by strangulation results.

Beaver traps are sometimes baited with certain vegetal substances of which these animals are very fond, but to make the bait, or "medicine," effectual, the substance is colored with vermilion, or other sacred paint. This is then placed between two sticks, each about 2 inches in length, laid crosswise, and then attached to a steel trap.

BOWS AND ARROWS

The weapons employed in former times consisted of axes, arrows, and knives of stone, though knives of shell also were used. The manufacture of stone relics, says Shu'nien, was discontinued about four generations ago. In those times hickory and ash were generally selected



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

for the manufacture of bows. The limb was cut to the required length by pounding and cutting with a stone ax; then the wood was heated on both sides, near the fire, thus softening it sufficiently to admit of being scraped down to the desired breadth and thickness. Bow-making was tedious work. The sinew was generally made from the ligaments obtained from each side of the vertebræ of the moose. The ligament was split, scraped, and twisted into a cord by rolling the fibers between the palm of the right hand and the thigh, and with the left hand drawing it away as completed.

Bows and arrows are now used only by the younger members of the tribe, who employ them in killing birds and in target shooting, when a trifling wager is sometimes staked by the participants. Bows are sometimes made of ash, and cedar and ash combined, but hickory is generally used for this purpose, as the bows are not so elaborately and carefully made as formerly. A typical bow, made by an old expert, measures 46 inches in length, three-fourths of an inch in thickness at the center, and an inch and a quarter in width, narrowing down toward each end to five-eighths of an inch. The ends of the bow are somewhat thinner than the middle. The notches for the bowstring are cut about an inch from the end. Frequently one edge of the bow is ornamented by allowing projections of the original surface of the wood to remain to the height of nearly half an inch, these projections being as broad lengthwise as they are high, and serrated at the top. These serrations are subsequently colored red, blue, or some other tint, according to the fancy of the owner. The projections noted are scattered along the left edge at intervals of 4 inches, the intervening surface of that edge of the bow being of a different color to that selected for the tops of the projections, a pleasing contrast thus being presented.

The bowstring was made of sinew, as among all the tribes of the great lakes. One end of the string was secured by knotting; the other end was looped, in order that the bow might be quickly strung.

Arrow-making

Having studied the process of arrow-making among quite a number of tribes, including the Chemehuevi and Coyotero Apache, at a time when jasper, obsidian, and bottle-glass arrowheads were still manufactured, I shall describe somewhat in detail the process employed by the Menomini. Among these people the stone weapon, as before remarked, is now almost a thing of tradition, and there are at this day but two classes of arrows found, and one of these only at rare intervals. The first class is the game arrow with the iron point; the second is that designated as monoxylic,[1] i. e., made of a single piece of wood and used chiefly by boys in shooting birds and for practice or play.

The wood intended for shafts is gathered late in the autumn, cut in lengths exceeding 2 feet, tied in bundles of several dozen shafts each

[1] Prof. O. T. Mason in Smithsonian Report for 1893, Washington, 1894, p. 654.

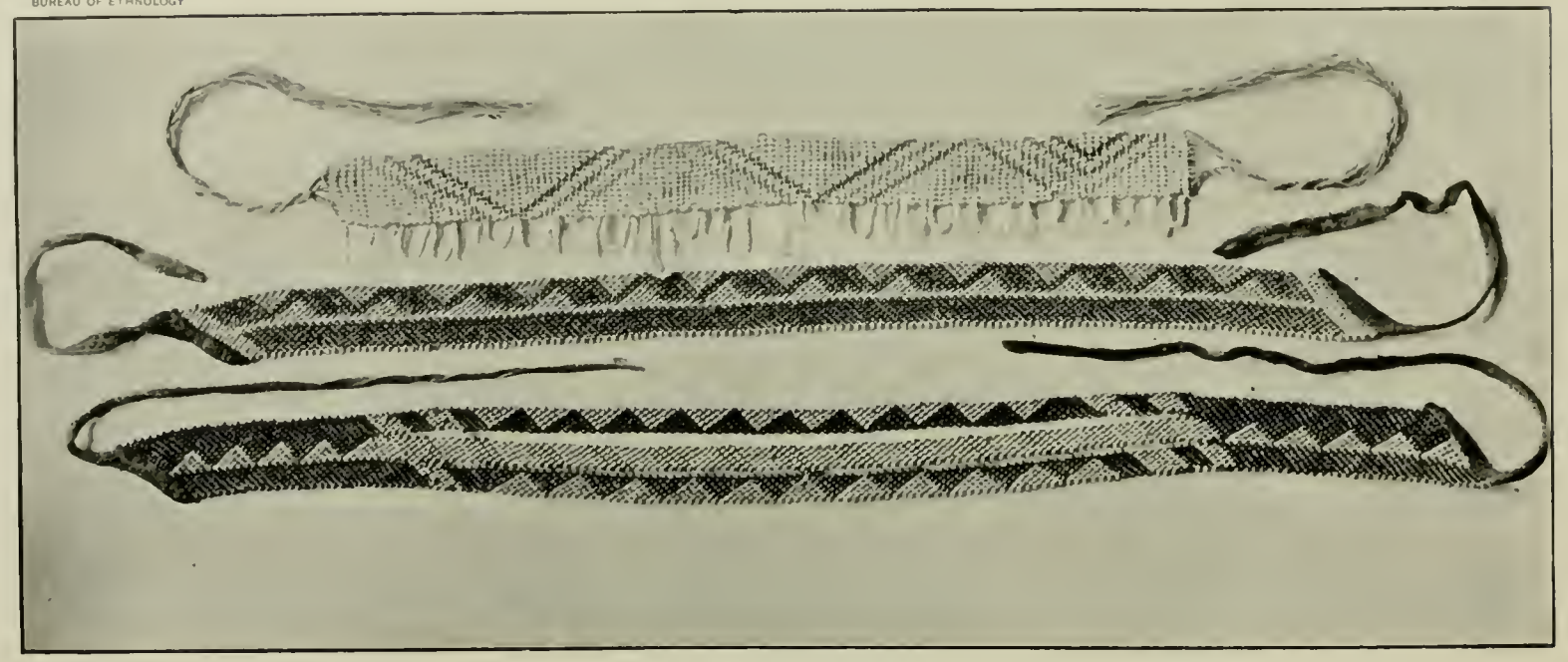
and suspended from the rafters of the house, where they become thoroughly dry during the winter. The sticks are of light wood, as free as possible from knots or irregularities in growth, and vary from a third to a half of an inch in thickness.

These being disposed of for the time being, iron arrowheads are procured from the trader, as these points are now manufactured in the East and packed in boxes of a thousand or more and offered for sale at agency stores. In many instances the Indians made their own points, securing for the purpose pieces of hoop-iron from various packing cases sent to the reservations. Such arrowpoints are usually made somewhat shorter than those manufactured for the trade, owing to a desire to economize in material. The arrowpoints made for the trade measure from 3 to 4½ inches in length, scarcely ever more than seven-eighths of an inch across at the widest part, and about one-sixteenth of an inch thick. The edges are sharpened. The tang of the arrow—the basal projection which fits into the shaft—is usually from one-half to three-fourths of an inch long and about one-fourth of an inch wide. In hunting-arrows the tang was formerly serrated, so that sinew seizing would firmly secure it, and the shaft, on withdrawal from the animal, would bring with it the arrowhead. In war arrows, however, the sides of the tang being smooth, the arrowhead would readily become loosened after the sinew wrappings became moistened in the wound, so that, on attempting to withdraw the arrow, the head would remain and do its deadly work.

The next step in arrow manufacture was to procure feathers for the shaftment, and for this purpose the flight and tail feathers of accipitrine birds are prepared. The webs are split from the midrib, the soft medullary cells scraped from the strips of horny substance bearing the web and cut into lengths of from 6 to 7 inches. About an inch of the web is removed at each end to permit secure wrapping to the shaftment. The width of the projecting web is only about a quarter of an inch, and three feathers are attached to each shaftment. The sinew fibers are obtained from the deer, the ligaments extending along each side of the spinal process, from the head backward, generally being preferred to those of the legs. These sinews are dried, and when required for use, may readily be shredded by wetting and sometimes by gentle hammering.

Glue is obtained by boiling the hoofs of the deer. Glue-sticks are found in possession of almost all warriors; they are made by cutting a stick 6 inches in length and as thick as the little finger, then dipping one end into the melted glue and allowing to harden, the process being repeated until there is a considerable bulb at the end. When it is desired for use, the stick is dipped in hot water and then rubbed on the part which it is desired to fasten.

When arrowshafts were to be made, only thoroughly seasoned sticks were taken, and for immediate use the straight ones only were selected.



BEADED NECKLACES

By means of a knife the bark was scraped off, and sometimes sufficient of the wood to reduce the diameter to the required size—ordinarily three-eighths of an inch. If no pieces of glass were at hand, a piece of sandstone was sometimes taken to further reduce the roughness of the shaft, and then fine sand was placed in a piece of blanket or buckskin and employed as sandpaper is used.

In some instances flat pieces of bone with rounded notches on the edge, or even holes of the diameter required for the shaftment, were used for further smoothing and rounding. The stick was then cut to the required length, varying from 22 to 23 inches.

A cut was then made with a small saw, or a knife blade filed into a saw, at one end of the shaft to receive the tang of the arrowhead, the

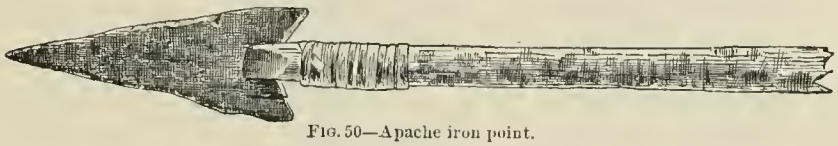


FIG. 50—Apache iron point.

incision being from one-half to three-fourths of an inch in depth. Then the other end of the shaftment was gradually tapered for about 3 inches, to within one-fourth of an inch of the end, which bulb or nock was left expanding, with a square parallel sided, or probably sometimes an angular notch at the end.

The arrow tang was inserted and carefully wrapped with a thin, flat band of sinew (figure 50), which was then smoothed down with glue to insure adhesion. When dry, the creases, of which there were three, were made to extend from the sinew straight down the shaftment for 10 or 11 inches (plate XXXI, *b*). These creases were made with a sharp-pointed piece of iron—the end of a broken blade—or a piece of glass, and is believed to permit the discharge of blood from the wound. The feathers

FIG. 51—Arrowshaft showing mode of feathering.

having been prepared are next attached lengthwise, beginning where the creases cease and extending back to the nock. Only the top and bottom of the feathers are touched with glue, the intervening portion of the length of each being free and detached. Sinew fibers are then wrapped around the shaftment to hold down the ends of the feathers—each end being about an inch long, from which the web has been removed—and the glue-stick applied to fasten them. The feathers are equidistant around the shaftment (figure 51).

There is another step in arrow-making, which is seldom taken in the manufacture of arrows in North America. To prevent the detached portions of the feathers from being forcibly or accidentally torn from

the shaftment, a sinew thread, not thicker than a strand of silk, is tied horizontally around the feathers and shaftment midway between the glued ends.

As a finishing touch, the creases are tinted with color bought of the trader, while additional marks are placed on that portion of the shaftment exposed between the feathers. The specimens of arrows before me, made by the Menomini, have each five spots of dark blue placed at intervals of an inch or so along each of the three sides. A blue band also is painted around the shaftment at the forward end of the feathered tips, while sometimes an additional band is found around the end which touches the nock.

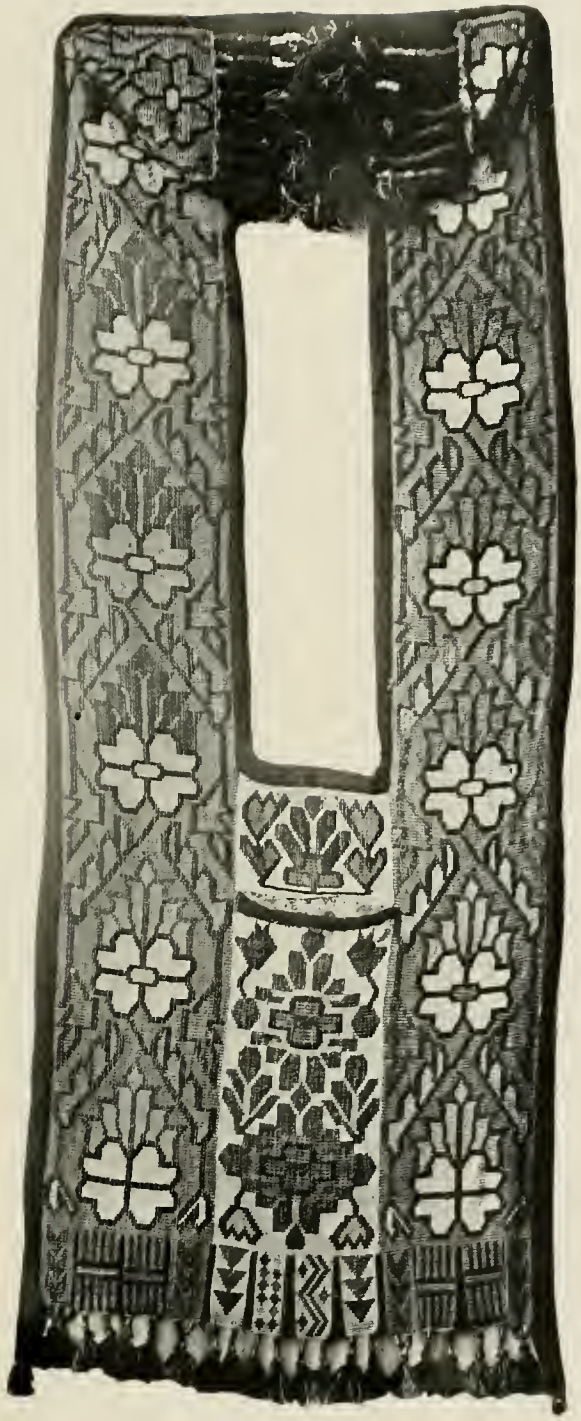
The various northwestern tribes of the Algonquian stock were careful in specifically decorating with colors their own individual arrows, by which means they were recognizable by others of the band of which the owner was a member. Duplications were common, but it is claimed that even then each person could readily recognize his own property. These property marks, being generally known, were sometimes the cause of serious trouble; for instance, when one Indian would steal the arrows of another for the purpose of destroying an enemy, the friends of the latter ultimately ascertained the identity of the owner of the arrows and avenged the death, the true criminal remaining unknown.

Intertribal warfare is known to have occurred through such means between the Arapaho and Sioux, and between the Sioux and the confederated tribes at Fort Berthold, North Dakota; and the Apache and other tribes of the far southwest are reported to have obtained the arrows of neighboring Indians to use in attacks on outlying settlements of the whites, thus causing the raid to be attributed to another and possibly peaceable tribe.

In his report on "North American bows, arrows, and quivers," Professor Otis T. Mason refers to the statement frequently made by frontiersmen that the plains Indians had two ways of mounting an arrowhead with relation to the notch at the nock. "If the plane of the arrowhead be horizontal when the arrow is in position for shooting—that is, at right angles to the notch—the missile is a war arrow, to go between the ribs of men. But if the plane of the head be vertical when the bow is drawn, the missile is a hunting-arrow for passing between the ribs of buffalo and other mammals.[1]

Colonel Richard I. Dodge,[2] in speaking of the Comanche, has fallen into the same error. Captain John G. Bourke, of the United States Army, whose active experience in the southwest, especially among the Apache tribes of Arizona, entitles his opinion to high consideration, believes this to be a mistake, and remarks that he has seen all kinds of arrows in the same quiver.[3]

[1] Smithsonian Report for 1893, Washington, 1894, p. 661.
[2] Wild Indians, Hartford, 1890, p. 419.
[3] Quoted by Professor Mason, op. cit., p. 661.



DANCER'S BEADED MEDICINE BAG

But this statement would not be true of the remainder of the numerous tribes of Indians located between Mississippi river and Pacific ocean, as an almost uninterrupted experience of twenty-four years has taught the present writer. I have before me a collection of arrows made by the Coyotero Apache at Camp Apache, Arizona, tipped with arrowheads of iron, jasper, and bottle-glass, in which 65 per cent have the notch for the arrowhead in the same plane as the notch for the string; 4 per cent in which the two notches are at right angles, while in the remaining 31 per cent the plane of the notch for the arrowhead appears alike in no two instances, and presents various degrees between the vertical and horizontal planes, as mentioned in the preceding class. In other examples which I have before me, and which embrace a number of iron-tip arrows made by the Crow Indians, no attempt at any system is perceptible, the planes of the arrow notches occurring at almost every angle from the plane of the string notch.

With reference to the hunting-arrows of the Menomini, 15 per cent present the plane of the arrowhead at right angles to the plane of the string notch, while the remaining 85 per cent are made without regard to any care whatever in so far as the plane of the arrowhead notch corresponds with that of the string notch.

The second class of arrows already referred to embraces such as have the head or point formed from the same piece from which the shaft itself is fashioned—a thick piece of pine, cedar, or ash—having been shaved down from the thickness desired for the head to that required for the shaft. The head of a common form of bird-arrow is shown in plate XXXI, *a*. Specimens of this type usually measure from seven-eighths of an inch to an inch and an eighth in diameter, the head being from 2½ to 3 inches long. The arrows are 28 inches in length, though the feathers—of which there are three, as usual—are only 2½ in length. The latter are glued to the shaft without the usual sinew wrapping at either end. The anterior part of the web of the feathers is nearly an inch wide, but it slopes abruptly to the level of the shaft at the nock. The nock expands slightly, while the notch is shallow and circular. The shafts are painted red or blue from the nock to the anterior part of the feathers, at which point four bands of color—alternately blue and red—encircle the shaft. The posterior portion of the head is longitudinally painted with alternate stripes of red and blue, terminating in a transverse band of red at the base. The anterior part of the head is uncolored.

Another variety of arrowhead is fashioned of the same piece of wood which forms the shaft, and is represented in plate XXXI, *d*. The projections on the sides of the head are merely the stubs of branches or roots. A third variety of bird-arrow is simply a continuation of the ordinary thickness of the shaft, rounded at the apex, or perhaps even slightly sharpened to a point, as shown by plate XXXI, *c*.

Still another interesting variety is shown in plate XXXI, *e*, in which thorns of large size have been attached to the head of the shaft by

means of sinew thongs. The points of the thorns have been broken off, but still serve admirably for bird shooting.

Release

It may be appropriate to remark that in arrow release the thumb and forefinger are used in grasping the arrow, the forefinger being bent so that the second joint is pressed toward and opposite to the ball of the thumb, a method affording a maximum of strength. The bow is firmly grasped, the arrow lying across the top of the hand and on the left side of the bow. In rapid shooting, the arrows are taken one by one from the quiver as wanted, thrown quickly across the left hand and the notch fitted to the string as the right hand is pulled back for release. The quiver at such times is thrown upward toward the shoulder that the arrows may easily be taken therefrom.

Penetration

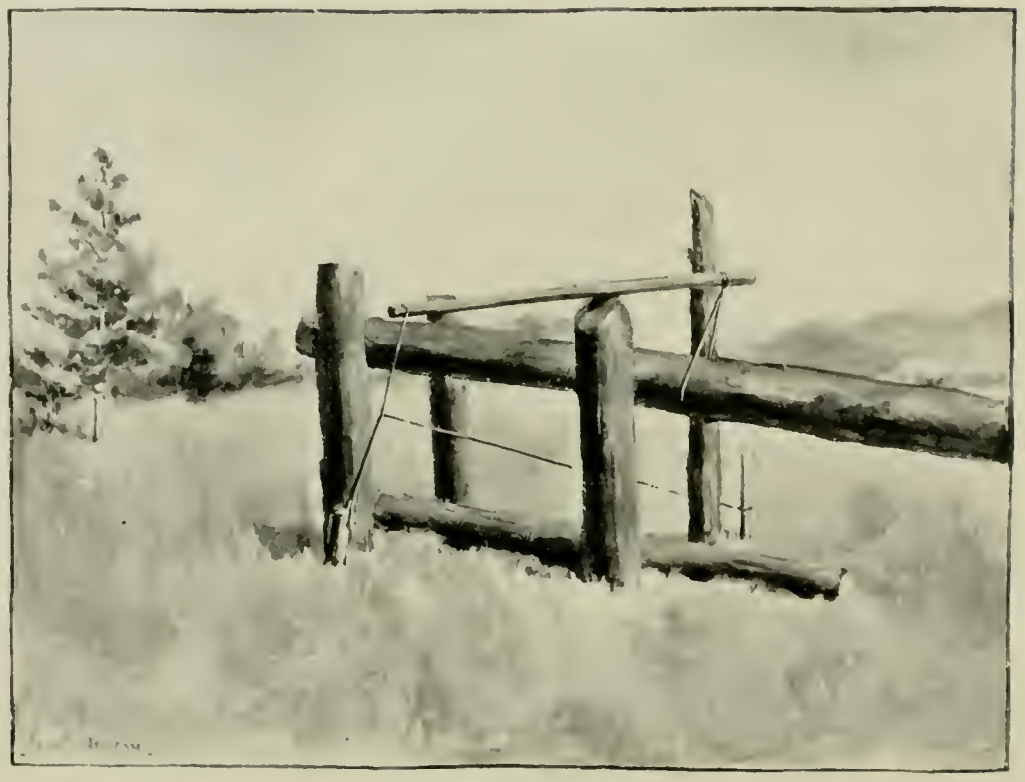
With reference to the penetration of the arrow, much depends on the bow. I have examined a bow belonging to Long Soldier, a Sioux hunter of magnificent physique, who formerly dwelt at the now abandoned agency of Grand River, North Dakota. The string of this bow I could scarcely pull at full arrow length, even when standing on the bow and pulling the string with main strength. This was perhaps the strongest bow used in the Sioux camp, and the report was current, and doubted by none, that Long Soldier had often shot arrows entirely through the body of the buffalo. In this case it is of course to be understood that the arrow encountered no large bones. Bows and arrows were used long after the introduction of firearms, as the former could successfully be used in hunting game and shooting down sentinels without revealing the presence of an enemy.

It is well known to those familiar with the subject, that as late as ten or fifteen years ago, when hostile Indians were still thoroughly in practice with the bow and arrow, that it were safer to stand before an Indian's rifle at 80 yards than at the same distance when he was armed with bow and arrow. Since these more primitive weapons have been discarded, however, the Indians have become much more expert with the rifle, as has many times been shown.

Bows and Bowstrings

The bows of the Menomini are made of a single piece of wood, generally without sinew backing. Ash is commonly selected, unless hickory can readily be obtained. To prevent the wood from becoming brittle, the bow is frequently sized with deer brains.

It may be of more than ordinary interest in this connection to note that some of the older men of the Menomini claim to have seen bows, made by members of their tribe, consisting of two pieces of wood, glued together lengthwise, and wrapped at intervals with buckskin or sinew.



TRAP FOR SMALL GAME

Professor Mason's remarks[1] pertaining to compound bows do not refer to a certain form which, so far as I am aware, is now found only in Arizona and Nevada, among the Chemehuevi, and in the Orient among, I believe, the Japanese. This bow consists of two distinct pieces of wood, of almost equal size, glued together longitudinally. The most beautiful specimens of workmanship noticed anywhere amongst the Paiute and Chemehuevi were observed at the mouth of several small tributaries to Colorado river, in southeastern Nevada. These bows were graceful in form, being curved in the shape of the traditional "Cupid's bow." They are less than 3 feet in length, and are about three-fourths of an inch thick at the grip, but thinner and broader at the curve of the limbs, gradually narrowing down toward the nocks. Two species of wood of equal size were used in their manufacture, the flat surfaces being glued together lengthwise from end to end, then scraped down to the required dimensions and polished. Ash formed the front, or, more properly, the back, of the bow, while the inner side of the curve was of cedar. Having been glued, the entire back was covered with sinew, the edges of which extended around the lateral edges toward the cedar portion. This backing added to the strength and elasticity of the bow, which was furthermore increased by seizings of sinew strands tied about the bow at the grip, at the nock ends, and at one and sometimes two equidistant points between these places, each wrapping being perhaps as broad as the palm of the hand.

These bows, like those of the Menomini, were occasionally anointed with deer brains to prevent brittleness and consequent fracture, the extremely high temperature and dry atmosphere during the greater portion of the year being very severe on the elastic properties of the few kinds of wood available for bow-making in the arid southwest.

The bowstrings used by the Menomini are of sinew, obtained in the way previously described.

Quivers

The quivers of these Indians were formerly made of skins with the fur remaining thereon, as well as of dressed buckskin, but they are now fashioned from coarse cloth or flannel, decorated with brightly colored patches, small bells, and other pendants.

Modern Stone Arrowpoints

As before stated, the Menomini Indians admit having manufactured stone weapons until "several generations ago." But they actually used stone arrows within a comparatively recent period, and these, on account of their rarity and the superstition connected therewith, have been retained to this day and used as amulets by the mitä'wok.

The discontinuance of the manufacture of stone weapons is attributable to the introduction of improved firearms, axes, and knives, and to

[1] Smithsonian Report for 1893, pp. 631-679, plates xxxvi-xciv.

the procuring, from packing cases, of bands and strips of sheet-iron, from which convenient and effective arrowpoints were made for use both in hunting and in warfare. Among the tribes of the great lakes, as elsewhere, arrows were sometimes preferred to firearms, since they could be fired noiselessly in their hunting as well as in attacks on the sentinels or scouts of an enemy. During my investigations in the southwest in 1871, stone arrowheads were found in use among quite a number of small bands of Indians scattered over the untraveled portions of southern Nevada, southeastern California, and northern and middle Arizona. Although a few old guns were found in possession of most of these bands, the bow and arrow had preference for the reasons above stated, and because of the scarcity or difficulty in procuring ammunition and of their familiarity with aboriginal weapons.

a b

FIG. 52—Ute stone knife.

Although stone arrowheads and knives were found in use—to a very limited extent in some instances—only a few tribes still manufactured them, while others may have procured them by barter with neighboring Indians, or utilized such as they found abundantly in certain localities, such as at old camp sites or on the ruins of ancient pueblos. In some instances arrowpoints were made of bottle-glass, of several varieties of silicious mineral, and especially of obsidian, large quantities of pebbles, bowlders, and finely fractured pieces of which occur in various localities in northern Nevada and southeastern California, as well as in other sections. The Indians amongst whom stone-point arrows were observed were the Tiva'tika Shoshoni, at Belmont, at Hot Springs canyon, south of Mount MacGruder, and at Green mountain in Nevada; the Paiute, at Benton, at McBride ranch, at Big Pine, and at Camp Independence in Owen valley; and the Panamint Indians, on the eastern slope of Inyo mountains, and 10 miles southeast of Owen lake, all in southeastern California; the several Paiute bands at the headquarters, Armagosa river, in the Armagosa desert, west of Spring mountain; at Paiute Charlie's camp, 30 miles south of the latter point, on the

a *b* *c* *d* *e*

VARIETIES OF ARROWHEADS

so-called old Spanish trail; at Cottonwood creek, the headwaters of Corn creek, and at Las Vegas—both streams draining into Colorado river—in southern Nevada. Also, the Chemehuevi Indians on Cottonwood island, in Colorado river, about 30 miles north of the Mohave, and on the north bank of Colorado river near the mouth of Rio Virgen, where were also some Paiute from Moapa reservation, in southern Nevada. Among both of these tribes knives of stone, with short wooden handles, were observed. Similar specimens were collected by Major J. W. Powell, at Kaibab, southern Utah, illustrations of which are presented in figures 52 and 53. On the great plateau in Arizona we noted the same to occur to a limited extent among the Shivwits, a Shoshonean tribe, and also among the Walapai, of Yuman stock. But more abundantly were stone arrows found in use among the Apache, at Camp Apache on the upper waters of Salt river.

FIG. 53—Ute stone knife.

The manufacture of arrowpoints was observed only near the mouth of the Rio Virgen, among the Chemehuevi, by whom stone knives also were made. In the latter implement a triangular piece of stone—resembling a large arrowhead without notches—constituted the blade, being secured to the end of a wooden handle by means of a vegetal gum and careful wrapping with pieces of sinew.

A large part of southern Nevada is exceedingly arid, the flat range deserts being devoid of vegetation and literally strewn with a great variety of silicious minerals fractured in flakes, conchoidal pieces, and splinters of every conceivable form. These afford an inexhaustible and convenient supply of material for the primitive arrow-maker, requiring little labor for final shaping. The shaping of the points and the chipping of the cutting edges were effected by first taking a piece of buckskin with which to grasp the flake, the latter being securely held between the tips of the fingers and the edge or base of the thumb, the narrow edge of the flake protruding, then flaking by pressure with a piece of bone or a bear's claw mounted on a short wooden handle. The flaking instrument, while being held against the edge of the flake so as to get a grip and prevent slipping, was steadily, but forcibly, directed upward at right angles to the axis of the edge, and slightly backward and toward the left—that is, in the direction of the base of the arrowhead when working along the one side, and toward the intended point when flaking along the other. The triangular pieces of chert, chalcedony, and jasper used were somewhat larger than the average arrowpoint and were set into a notch cut in the anterior

portion of a piece of wood about an inch in diameter and from 5 to 6 inches in length.

The gum or resin of the *Larrea mexicana* was utilized to set the stone blade, which required no additional strengthening because of the adhesive power of the gum; but when glue was made of beaver-tail or deer-hoof, sinew was sometimes wrapped over the glued base or tangs of the stone point to lend additional strength.

The processes employed in the manufacture of stone arrowheads have been repeatedly referred to and illustrated in recent years, so that further description is now unnecessary.

Notwithstanding that from 25 to 30 per cent of the arrows found among the Apache at Camp Apache, Arizona, were made from stone and glass, the manufacture of glass points only was observed by the present writer. In addition to specimens made of bottle glass, chalcedony, gray jasper, and obsidian, one specimen made of gold quartz was obtained, but the locality from which the mineral was procured could not be learned, the owner of the arrows refusing to disclose the place. All of these points were rather small, the average size corresponding to that given in the accompanying illustration (figure 54), though in

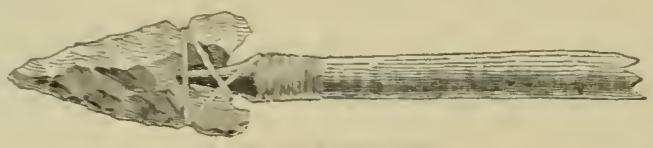
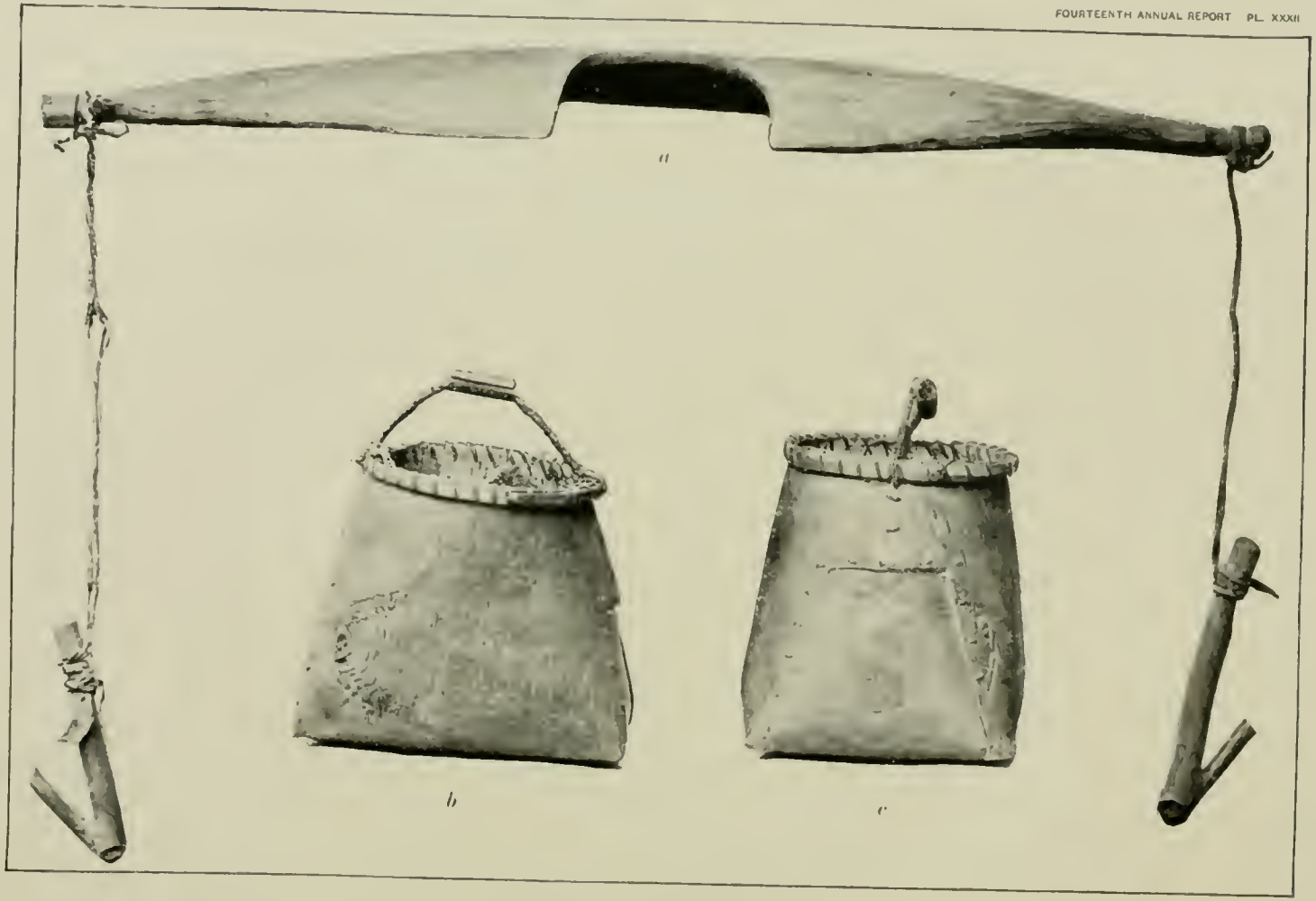


FIG. 54—Apache stone point.

some instances they were long and narrow. Furthermore, the notches for the reception of the sinew strands were at each side, a short distance from the base. The sinew, being thus in a depression, was protected from injury by violent friction with the edges of the arrow. Iron arrowpoints, on the contrary, were fastened to the shaft by inserting the tang into the fore end of the shaft, and then tying it with sinew (plate XXI, *b*). In both instances, mesquite gum or other resinous substance was generally used to secure the arrowpoints. Immediately behind the point, and along the foreshaft for a distance of perhaps 5 or 6 inches, a dark reddish substance resembling dried blood mixed with clay had been applied. The arrows were said to have been poisoned, and were carefully handled by their owners. As some of the Apache poisoned their arrows by dipping them into decomposed liver, to which had been added crushed tarantulas, scorpions, and frequently the venom of the rattlesnake, it is only reasonable to suppose that their assertions may have been correct.

POISONED ARROWS

The Menomini admit that their ancestors poisoned arrows by besmearing the points with rattlesnake venom and it may be asserted that many of the tribes whose territory bordered on the Menomini country



BIRCHBARK SAP BUCKETS AND YOKE

practiced various ceremonies and methods of preparation of supposed or actually poisonous compounds, which were believed to aid in the destruction of the life of the animal or person struck or wounded by an arrow, or toward whom the missile was directed, regardless of the distance between the intended victim and the person using the weapon. In many instances the venom or decomposed organic matter employed no doubt caused septicæmia and finally death; but the motive prompting the preparation of such arrows, and the power possessed by them, is to be found in their mythologic beliefs.

According to Mr J. N. B. Hewitt, both the Tuskarora and the Cayuga Indians of the Iroquoian stock used poison similar to that above mentioned for anointing their arrows, and the Dakota, Blackfeet, and other tribes to the westward of the Menomini practiced a like custom, so that it is only reasonable to assume that in former times this tribe was acquainted with a method of poisoning arrows, even if the practice was not generally followed.[1]

An instance in illustration of this was the use by the Ojibwa and Dakota—neighboring tribes of the Menomini—of the delicate spines of the leaves of the common cactus (*Opuntia missouriense*), found in the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri. Although exceedingly minute, these spines cause much pain if they puncture the skin. They were formerly gathered and mixed with grease in the form of an ointment, which was applied to arrowshafts, as well as to small depressions bored in leaden bullets. The extreme pain caused by the presence in the flesh of these delicate spines has suggested the belief that when a missile so anointed is shot into a human being or a beast, the spines travel forward in pursuit of the life, or more literally the shade, of the creature and compel its abandonment of the body in which it had its abode. The mitä'ᵛ, however, if he be very powerful, may succeed in calling back the life of such a victim, provided the gifts are sufficiently valuable to appease the ma'nidos, whose aid must be invoked.

In the expulsion of demons from a person possessed by them—the effects being known by bodily suffering, etc—the shaman may have recourse to more than the simple performance of exorcism. Remedies believed to be obnoxious to the life of the demon, or mystery, possess-

[1] I have already had occasion to present in detail the several methods of poisoning arrows, as practiced by several well-known tribes of Indians, and present herewith the bibliographic references, viz:

Poisoned Arrows. Pacific Rural Press, San Francisco, California, vol. xv, 1878, p. 82. (Read before the Philosophical Society of Washington, District of Columbia, January 5, 1878.)

The Use of Poisoned Arrows. Mining and Scientific Press, San Francisco, California, vol. xxxvi, 1878, p. 163.

Ueber die Zubereitung des Pfeilgiftes durch die Pai-Uta Indianer von Nevada. Verhandl. Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Urgeschichte (April 17), 1880, pp. 91, 92.

Note sur les flèches empoisonnées des Indiens de l'Amerique du Nord. Bull. Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris, tome sixième, iiiᵉ série, iᵉ fasciculе, 1883, pp. 205–208.

Das Pfeilvergiften der Indianer ans Puget Sund. Das Ausland, No. 13 (March 26), 1888, p. 260.

Poisoned Arrows. The American Anthropologist, vol. iv, No. 1, Washington, 1891, pp. 67–71.

Klallam arrows were tipped with heads of native copper and caused to corrode by wetting with seawater; Lipans employed the yucca juice, and the Sissetons the spines of a small cactus, *O. missouriense*.

ing the patient are administered. Such "remedies" may also be forced into the victim whom it is desirable to remove from one's presence, and are then erroneously termed poisoned. On this theory many decoctions have been reputed to be poisonous.

The hair of the tail of the blacktail deer has been used in a manner similar to that in which cactus spines are used, for producing abortion. The hair is chopped fine, then mixed with the fat of a bear's paw, and administered. Gastric irritation follows, leading, possibly, to uterine contraction, and the ultimate expulsion of the fetus. The Indian's explanation is, however, that the fine spicules of hair act like magic arrows, dart forward in the body in pursuit of the life of that which it is desirable to overcome, with the result indicated.

It also has been stated that the blowgun was used in former times by Indians of North America, but its darts were not poisoned, as by the tribes of northern South America. The weapon was evidently of little value save for target shooting, on the results of which wagers were made.

FOOD

FOOD IN GENERAL

The food of the Menomini Indians consists of such scant supplies of vegetables as they may raise, pork obtained from the Government and by purchase at the stores, meats and fish obtained by hunting, berries and wild fruits in season, and such dishes as the women have been taught or have learned to make by contact with civilization. At the burial feast of 1890, I was astonished to see served to the attendants, and of which I also partook to a limited extent, roast beef, poundcake, raspberry pie, and coffee with cream and sugar, apparently as clean and almost as good as that usually served at a second-rate hotel. At the same time it was also observed that several of the visiting medicine men and women came provided with large bagfuls of green cucumbers, which their favored guests or friends ate raw with keen relish after merely paring off the rind.

Salt is not used by the Menomini during meals, neither does it appear to have a place in the kitchen for cooking or baking. Maple sirup is used instead, and it is singular how soon one may acquire the taste for this substitute for salt, even on meats. At the ceremonies of 1893 lard and soda biscuits alone formed the meal of the attending medicine men and others aiding in the ceremonies, each half biscuit being dipped into the bucket to scoop up a quantity of lard equal in size to a small English walnut. One of the mitä'wok, a Potawatomi, who had eaten nothing during the day until about 2 oclock in the afternoon, began to eat this nauseating mess with the first set of four medicine men, continued with the second set after the first had finished, and leaned back to all appearances gratified only when the third set of assistant medicine men had eaten to repletion. Notwithstanding

CAMP OF SUGAR MAKERS

this unusual gastronomic feat no evil results were noticeable two days later.

GORMANDISM

The quantity and variety of food which some Indians are capable of consuming is beyond the comprehension of a white man. This is so well known that it is unnecessary to enter into lengthy discussion of the subject, but for illustration two instances which came under my observation may be alluded to:

The first occurrence was in 1871, while the author was ascending Colorado river. The expedition of which he was a member had secured the services of sixteen Mohave Indians to assist in getting the small boats over the numerous rapids and to do possible duty in event of an attack from hostile tribes. On the first day out, sixteen rations were issued to the chief, to serve his men for one day. A ration, at that time, was sufficient to serve one man for two days; but when eleven of the Indians reached camp that day, they demanded that food be served, being unwilling to wait for the arrival of the other five, who were farther down the river and who could not reach camp in time for the regular supper. The consequence was that the sixteen rations were eaten at that meal by eleven Indians, who even then threatened to desert unless the quantity of food was increased.

The second instance is that of an Apache woman at one of the military posts in eastern Arizona, who, on receiving her rations for the week, consumed all of the food at a sitting, trusting to her ability to find sufficient tunas to sustain her until the next issue day.

OFFENSIVE FOOD

The Menomini Indians are not addicted to eating all kinds of reptiles, insects, and other loathsome food, as was common to many of the tribes of the Great Basin and of California. This form of diet may result from having always lived in a country where game, fish, and small fruits were found in greater or lesser abundance, and the evident relish with which the so called Diggers, the Walapai, and others, devour grasshoppers, dried lizards, beef entrails, and bread made of grass-seed meal mixed with crushed larvæ of flies, would appear as disgusting to the Menomini as to a Caucasian.

MAPLE SUGAR

Formerly large quantities of maple sugar were made annually, but the ease with which cane sugar came to be obtained by barter from traders' stores has gradually caused this industry to become almost obsolete. Dr Jedidiah Morse, in speaking of the French settlers at Green Bay, Wisconsin, says:

> These people and the Menominees, with whom, by the ties of relationship, they are connected, make from the maple tree about one hundred thousand pounds of sugar annually, and from three to four hundred gallons of molasses. These, with

their skins, etc., are nearly all sold for whisky, at an immense sacrifice. It is a common practice with these Canadians to sow their garden seeds late in the fall, which, from experience, has been found preferable to the usual method elsewhere of sowing them in the spring.[1]

According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1859, there were made in that year over 200,000 pounds of maple sugar, and in 1863 40 tons were made by these people. While at Leech lake, Minnesota, in July, 1892, I was informed that the Ojibwa of that locality, who number less than 1,500, had during the preceding spring made almost 90 tons of sugar. When it is taken in consideration that nearly all of this sugar was consumed by the Indians themselves, it shows an almost abnormal fondness for sweets. It virtually forms a substitute for salt; much of it is used with coffee and tea, while the greater portion is eaten either in the granular form, in cakes, or as "sugar wax," which is merely a plastic form of sugar, made by throwing the boiling sirup on the snow to cool. Maple sirup also is made to some extent, but the Indians prefer to dissolve the sugar in water when sirup is desired, instead of retaining it in vessels, which, among them, are always scarce, or else perhaps not to be had at all.

The season for sugar-making came when the first crow appeared. This happened about the beginning or middle of March, while there was yet snow on the ground. This period of the season was looked forward to with great interest, and, as among the Minnesota Ojibwa today, became a holiday for everybody. Each female head of a household had her own sugar hut, built in a locality abounding in maple trees—the *Acer saccharinum*—which might or might not have been convenient to her camp, but which was the place always resorted to by her, and claimed by right of descent through her mother's family and totem.

During the early spring, when the birchbark is in prime condition for peeling, pieces were cut and folded into sap dishes or pans, each measuring from 7 to 10 inches in width, about 20 inches in length and 8 inches in depth. The ends were carefully folded and stitched along the edge with thin fibers of basswood bark or spruce root, in order that it might retain the shape as represented in figure 55. A woman in good circumstances would possess as many as from 1,200 to 1,500 birchbark vessels, all of which would be in constant use during the season of sugar-making.

The next articles to be made were sap buckets, which also were fashioned from birchbark, cut and folded at the corners so as to avoid breaking and consequent leakage. The folds were also seamed with pine resin. The buckets were of various sizes, though usually they held from 1 to 2 gallons.

The example of sirup bucket represented in plate XXXII, *b*, *c*, measures 6 inches across the top, which is round, and 7 by 8 inches across the bottom, which is rectangular; the depth is 8 inches.

[1] Report to the Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 50.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CAMP OF BERRY PICKERS

The folds at the top of the rim are held in place by means of a thin strip of wood neatly stitched with strands of basswood bark, and an additional cord is made to extend across the top to serve as a handle. Two buckets are attached to the wooden hooks suspended from a shoulder-yoke, an illustration of the latter being presented in plate XXXII *a*.

The yoke is made of light though durable wood. The specimen obtained from the Menomini, and now in the National Museum, measures 34 inches in length by 6½ inches across the indent part, the depth of this thick concavity being 2 inches, while the piece itself is but half an inch. The cords are apparently of buckskin, while the hooks are evidently of oak. The Indians claim to have invented this form of yoke, though this is a difficult question to decide, since they have been in contact with the whites more than two centuries.

As maple-sugar making appears to have originated with the Indians, it is reasonable to presume that their requirements would in time have suggested the construction of such a contrivance as a yoke to facilitate the transportation of buckets of sap, particularly as by this means the weight would be transferred to the shoulders, making the burden less fatiguing to the arms. Wooden sap-troughs also were made during the summer season, when opportunity or inclination offered.

FIG. 55—Birchbark vessel for maple sap.

The season of sugar-making, as before mentioned, began in March, when the crows migrated from the south. At this time everyone was on the lookout, and so soon as the necessary camp equipage and sugar-making utensils could be brought together each family removed to its customary sugar grove. On arriving at the grounds, tents or temporary wigwams were erected for sleeping quarters, and a frame structure, with a roof of bark or mats, before described, was constructed for sheltering the sugar-makers. A sugar-making camp is illustrated in plate XXXIII.

When these preparations had been completed, and the kettles suspended from the ridgepole, the trees were selected; then, with an ax, a transverse cut, anywhere from a foot to 2½ feet above the ground, was made in the trunk. Into this cut a chip of wood was wedged, to direct the flow of sap away from the tree and into the bark vessel placed on the ground beneath. All available pans were thus placed at trees conveniently situated, and the sap was collected and brought to the

boilers, who poured it into the kettles. So soon as one kettleful was converted into sugar, a new lot of sap was hung over the fire. Care was taken by the women detailed to superintend the boiling to note the period at which the sirup began to granulate. It was then poured into wooden troughs, where it was worked and the granulating process completed.

When maple sirup is thrown on the snow to cool rapidly, it becomes waxy in consistence and is then termed sugar wax, and is highly esteemed as confectionery. Small dishes, from 2 to 4 inches in diameter, also are filled with sirup, which is allowed to cool and harden, forming sugar cakes. These are given to friends and visitors, and pieces are always put into the grave-boxes of deceased relations, as an offering to the shade of the dead.

As the sugar is cooled and ready to be removed from the trough, it is put in makaks, or boxes, for transportation and future use. These makaks, which are made of birchbark, resemble sap-buckets in shape, though they are larger at the base than at the rim, and each has a lid with a slightly conical center. These boxes vary in capacity from 2 to 50 pounds, those of average size holding about 25 pounds of sugar. The cover projects slightly over the rim of the bottom vessel, and is finally fastened by stitching with strands of basswood bark.

Another, though more modern, form of sugar receptacle is made of saplings arranged on the same principle as the timber of a log house, but inclosing a space of only about 10 by 15 feet. The front and back poles are erected to the height of 6 or 7 feet, then turned off toward the central ridgepole, as in a modern roof. The vertical poles are from 2½ to 3 inches thick, and are placed about 2 feet apart. The horizontal saplings also are about 2 feet apart, and are secured to the former by lashing with basswood bark. The roofs are afterward further strengthened by fastening with withes and brush, over which are placed the long, crude rush mats made solely for this purpose. Sometimes the bark or rush mats are fastened to the roof without the underlying rushes.

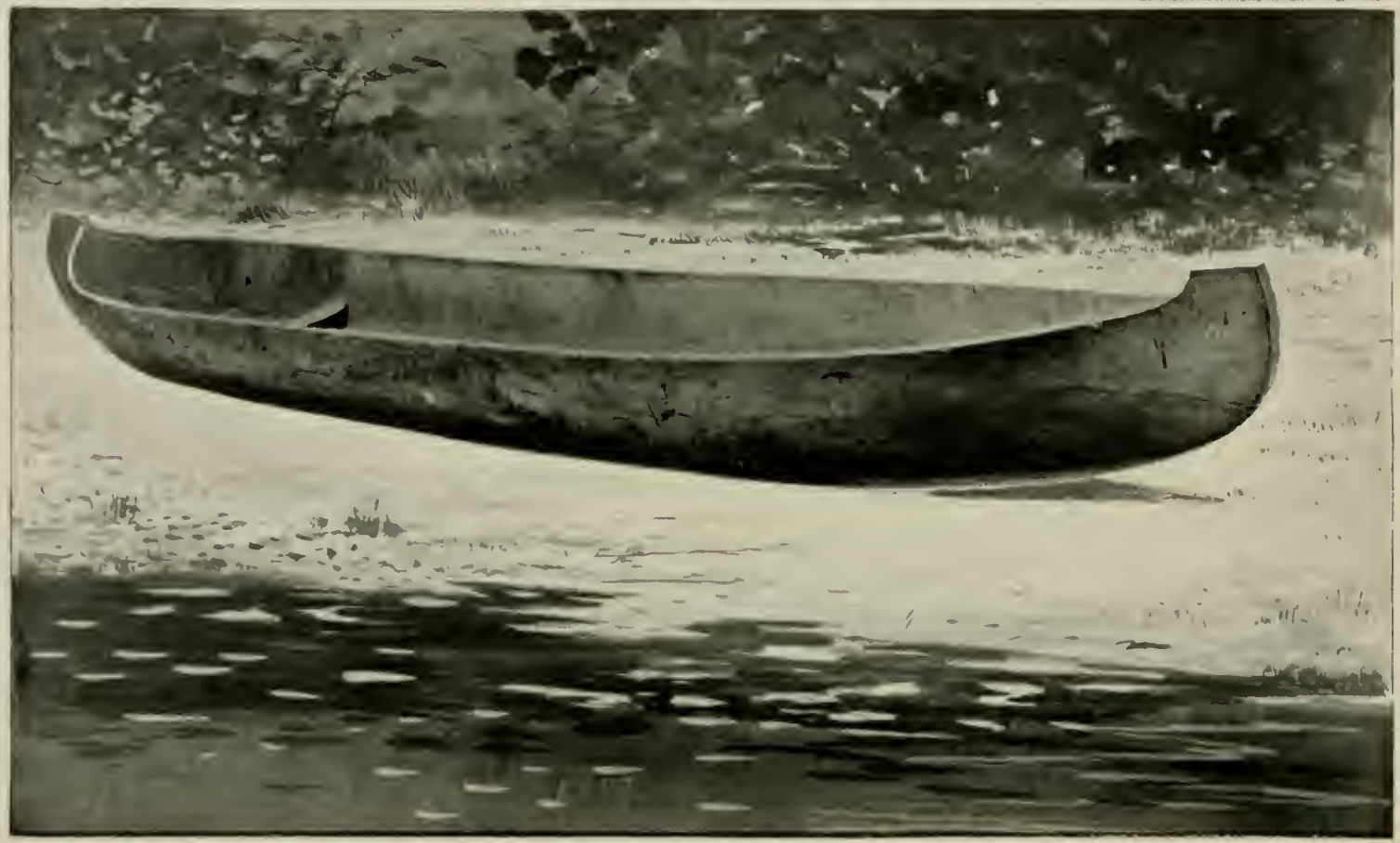
WILD RICE

Apart from the vegetables which the Menomini now cultivate, wild rice is still gathered in large quantities for use as food. As before stated with reference to the tribal designation, the term Menomini is derived from two words signifying "rice men," or "rice people," the French, at the time of first meeting them, having designated them Folles-avoines or False Oats, as wild rice was called by them.

Dr Morse,[1] who visited this tribe at Green Bay, in 1820, says of their food:

> In the spring they subsist on sugar and fish; in the summer, on fish and game; in the fall, on wild rice and corn, and in the winter on fish and game. These who are

[1] Report to the Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 48.



WOODEN CANOE OR DUGOUT

provident have some rice during the winter. The fish, consisting principally of sturgeon and salmon-trout, are in the greatest abundance in the bay.

The Menomini method of gathering and cleaning wild rice is as follows: At the proper season the women, and frequently the men as well, paddle through the dense growth of wild rice along the shores of the lakes and rivers, and while one attends to the canoe, the others grasp with one hand a bunch of rice stalks, bend it over the gunwale into the boat, and there beat out the ears of rice. After collecting a load in this manner, the next process is to dig a hole about 6 inches deep and 2 feet across; this hole is then lined with a dressed buckskin and filled with the rice, which is beaten with a stick, heavier and somewhat curved at one end. In this manner the husk is separated from the grain, and by winnowing on a windy day by means of a birch-bark tray, the rice is cleaned. Sometimes the rice and hulls are separated by spreading on a mat and fanning with a bark tray. It is then ready to dry in a metallic vessel, after which it is stored for use when required.

Some of the Menomini women make a special form of bag in which to beat out the rice. This bag is 2 feet wide by from 18 to 20 inches deep, and is woven of bark strands. It resembles very much an old-fashioned carpet-bag. After the rice is put into this, the bag is laid into a depression in the ground and beaten to separate the hulls.

Sometimes a hole is dug in the ground, a large mat placed into it, and the rice laid on the mat. To prevent the scattering of the seed while beating it, other mats are suspended from racks on three sides of the depression, so as to keep the rice from flying out too far. The fourth side is left open for the thresher.

The rice is subsequently kept in bags. To prepare it for use, it is boiled and eaten plain with maple sugar; or it may be boiled with meat or vegetables, or with both, and served as soup.[1]

BERRIES AND SNAKEROOT

During springtime it was customary among the more northern bands of the Menomini to gather large quantities of raspberries, some of which were eaten fresh, but the larger portion was dried and used during autumn and winter, when other food became somewhat scarce. In summer, when blueberries ripened, many of the Indians encamped in localities which afforded abundant quantities. These also were dried, though their freshness could be preserved by putting them into barrels of water, which was changed every day or two. By this means the Indians were enabled to carry the berries from time to time to sell. During the berry season the woods frequently reechoed with shouts of hilarity and merry-making of the younger folk, after the completion of the day's labor. Plate XXXIV illustrates a camp of berry hunters in

[1] See Indian Use of Wild Rice, by G. P. Stickney; Am. Anthropologist, Washington, April, 1896.

middle Wisconsin. Formerly, temporary shelter-tents of bark were erected, but now the simpler and less troublesome canvas tent is used.

Large quantities of snakeroot (*Senega polygala*) also were collected and afterward pressed, for transportation to the larger towns. Now, however, this plant has become rather scarce, and search therefor has been practically abandoned. Most of the snakeroot now comes from northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, both localities being within the territory of the Ojibwa.

CANOES

The Menomini have almost entirely discontinued the making of both the simple dugout and the birchbark canoe, and even among the old men but few are now recognized as having, in their day, been experts in this industrial art.

The simpler form of boat was the dugout, made of the single trunk—preferably that of a butternut tree. This wood is much heavier than most others available, but the Indians believe it to resist better than any other variety the effects of long contact with water, as well as the erosion to which the bottom is subjected by frequent rowing in shallow streams with beds of gravel or bowlders.

The specimen represented in plate XXXV is of pine. It was made by Mä'tshi-kinĕ'u^{x}—Bad-eagle—shortly after the removal of the Menomini to their present reservation. The canoe is therefore about fifty years old, but it is a typical example. The total length is 20 feet, the diameter across the gunwale at the point of the first inside rib is 21¼ inches, and at the second rib 20¼ inches. The total height is 11 inches. It will be observed that on the inside of the bottom of the canoe, near each end, stands a ridge of wood resembling a rude rib—for which it is really intended to serve—to give strength to the sides and to preserve the form of the vessel.

As the dugout is only from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, it becomes apparent that such a permanent support is necessary to prevent the breaking of the bottom, such damage easily resulting from exposure to the air after having been in the water for a long time. In the example above illustrated, a longitudinal crack, at some points over half an inch wide and extending nearly the entire length of the boat, resulted from drying.

The paddles employed are the same as for the birchbark canoe, the blade and handle each being about 2 feet in length.

When a single oarsman uses a canoe, he always kneels at the stern or narrower end of the canoe, the difference in the width of this part corresponding to the smallest diameter of the trunk from which it was made. When the tree does not have any perceptible variation in diameter, the outside is chipped down with an ax and a draw-knife, in order to make the stern narrower, and thus to give the canoe almost the shape of a cigar. The oarsman places a small bunch of grass in the bottom. On this he kneels and paddles only at one side, readily keeping the canoe

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CUTTING TIMBERS FOR BARK CANOE

in a straight course by following each stroke with a slight outward turn, thus compensating for the divergence of the bow from a true course.

When a second oarsman is present, he occupies the bow and uses his paddle at the opposite side to that of the oarsman at the stern. Frequently these canoes are laden with people from stern to bow until the gunwale touches the water's edge; yet the occupants appear entirely unconscious of any danger, on account of the skill with which the oarsmen manipulate their paddles and control every movement of the canoe.

The birchbark canoe is by far the most graceful piece of mechanism produced by the Menomini. But few are now either made or owned by these people, since their more advanced mode of life does not demand extensive travel by such means.

It is believed that the birchbark canoe is the invention of the Indian. The earliest reports concerning the discoveries of the French mention this vessel, and Indians arrived by canoe at French settlements from parts which no explorers had then penetrated.

The general form of the canoe differs to some extent among the various northern tribes. The type of canoe made by the Menomini resembles that of the Ojibwa of Wisconsin, who are their nearest northern neighbors, and with whom they have for many years maintained friendly relations, and to some extent intermarried. For their manufacture large birch trees that appear to furnish the best bark are selected, and the pieces are cut as large as possible. These sections are sewed together with threads made of the long, thin roots of a species of spruce, a material both durable and well adapted, notwithstanding constant wetting.

The framework of the bark canoe is made of white cedar, which is durable, light, and elastic. The ribs are thinned with a drawing knife (plate XXXVI), and when the required number have been made, they are curved according to the part of the canoe which they are intended to brace—the middle, of course, being much more distended laterally, while the ends gradually narrow to a point.

The tops of the ribs are held in place by being tied to a crosspiece, the rib and crosspiece thus resembling a bow and its string. Then the entire series of ribs is fastened by tying to the longitudinal strips corresponding to the gunwale, thus setting up the skeleton, as it were. These strips also are cut to the required thickness by means of a draw-knife.

When the framework has reached this stage, the bark, which in the meantime has been stitched together, is laid on the ground, the framework placed upon it, and then the bark is turned up over the sides, when short posts are driven into the ground, all around the canoe, to hold the outside strips, to reinforce the edge or gunwale, and to prevent the breaking of the bark at that edge. The appearance of the work at this stage is presented in plate XXXVII. All the necessary stitching is then done to hold in place the tightly secured bark. The bow and the

stern, though apparently similar, are still sufficiently unlike for the Indian to note which is the bow, for that end of the canoe, as in the dugout, is usually a little broader across the shoulders. The bottom of the canoe is lined with thin slats or shingles to protect the delicate bark from being broken. The seams, small punctures, and knot holes are then sealed with pine resin.

Although the women have many duties to perform in connection with the building of a canoe—such as cord-spinning, the stitching together of the pieces of bark, and the final lashing of the long pieces forming the gunwale—the men are generally the ones to use the paddle when traveling.

The paddle is made of cedar or some other light wood. It measures about 4 feet in length, of which nearly one-half is devoted to the blade, which varies from 4 to 6 inches in width. Generally the top of the handle has two projecting pieces resembling the letter T, giving the oarsman an easy and effective means of holding and using the paddle.

When not in use the canoe is always pulled ashore and turned over in order to allow the bottom to dry.

VOCABULARY

INTRODUCTORY

In reviewing the subject of Menomini linguistics, it may be stated that two printed works, a vocabulary of about four hundred words (which has supplied the material for nearly all comparative purposes to which reference is made in bibliographies) and the Lord's prayer (which has been reprinted in a number of works), comprise all the published material in the Menomini language.

The two works mentioned are a Catholic prayer-book and a catechism, both by Father Zephyrin, O. S. F., formerly missionary at Keshena, Wisconsin, the editions of which are exhausted. A few hymns also were printed by Father Zephyrin, on a small hand-press, the entire number covering only twelve unpaged, unstitched leaves, some of them being printed on the backs of picture cards.

Père Flavien J. Bondnel[1] published the Lord's prayer in Menomini, which has been reprinted by Bergholtz, Shea, Trumbull, and other students of Indian linguistics.

The Menomini vocabulary referred to is that compiled by W. H. Bruce and published by Henry R. Schoolcraft.[2] The copy in the library of the Bureau of Ethnology bears many corrections by some unknown person, indicating, apparently, that numerous errors in phonetics existed. This vocabulary has been used by many writers from which to select numerals and other words for comparison with various Indian languages.

[1] Souvenir religieux d'une mission Indienne, Tournai, imprimerie de Malo et Levasseur, 1855.
[2] Indian Tribes, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1852, pp. 470–481.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

SETTING UP BARK CANOE

Fathers Blase and Oderic, of the order of Saint Francis, at Keshena, Wisconsin, have prepared jointly a manuscript grammar and dictionary of the Menomini language for their own use, the arrangement of Baraga's Ojibwa Grammar—one of the most complete and satisfactory at hand—being followed. This manuscript was kindly given to the present writer, who is now editing the work for publication. In its preparation the German alphabet was employed, but the entire work is being rewritten so as to accord with the phonetic system now almost universally adopted.

In the accompanying Menomini vocabulary, which includes also a number of geographic terms and comparisons with Ottawa and Ojibwa synonyms, I have endeavored to avoid unnecessary diacritical marks and letters having sounds not their own, so as to aid in the ready comprehension by the general reader of the phonetics used. On the whole, the alphabet of the Bureau of Ethnology has been employed, the vowels having the so-called continental sounds; but instead of using the letters tc for *tsh*, I have adopted the latter to represent the sound of *ch*, as in *chat*. The following list of phonetics will serve to elucidate the system employed:

Phonetics

a, as in *far*
ä, as in *hat*
â, as in *law*
b, as in *bed;* interchangeable with p
d, as in *date;* interchangeable with t
ĕ, as e in *bet*
e, as a in *late*
g, as in *gimlet;* interchangeable with k
h, as in *hot*
ĭ, as in *it*
i, as e in *eat*
k, as in *kin;* generally used instead of g
l, as in *lip*
m, as in *met*
n, as in *not*
ŏ, as u in *but*
o, as o in *boat*
p, as in *pin*
q, as the ch (German) in *nicht*
r, as in *rod*
s, as in *saw*
ss, as the Shoshoni *sso'ssoni*, the hissing sound of s merging into that of sh
t, as in *tap;* also interchangeable with d
tsh, as ch in *chat*
ŭ, as in *pull*
u, as in *rule*
ᵛ, is found at the end of many words as a faintly sounded letter, and occurs in words in which the plural becomes *wŏk*, partaking apparently of the sound of w
ⁿ, nasalizes the preceding vowel
z, as in *zone*
ai, as in *aisle*
âi, as oy in *boy*

MENOMINI-ENGLISH

a''asĕn, stone.
abäq'so, deer.
abäq'so so'kum, abä'shush sho'-kum, buckskin; from abäq'so, deer, and so'kum, skin.
abä'shŭsh, the deer; a gens of the Menomini.
abä'shush sho'kum, abäg'so so'kum, deerskin, buckskin (sho'-kum, so'kum,=skin).
abi'sĭk, black; the general term, however, is ape'sĕn.
aiä'ni, to laugh.
aiä'nin, laugh.

aiä′niwŏk, they are laughing.

aiä′nuˇ, the opossum, "laugher." So called because when one is touched or teased, he grins as if laughing.

ai′awish, ai′awish, first.

Aionēsh′i, "good-looking spotted animal;" personal name of a woman.

aka′mia, across, or on the other side of, the river.

âkaq′siwŏk, a game played with a wooden bowl and eight pieces of deer horn, resembling the Ojibwa game of plum stones.

âkas′siânŏk, pieces of deer horn (some of which are colored), used in a game similar to the Ojibwa plum-stone game. The pieces are put into a wooden bowl and violently shaken; after settling, the counting depends on how the pieces lie, the red and white sides uppermost. Used in the game of âkaq′siwŏk.

a′kemaq′tīk, black elm; from a′kamok, snowshoe, and aq′tīk, tree or wood, i. e., the wood used for making showshoes. The wood splints are used also in basket making.

aki′ko, those.

akim′, them; they.

akui′kikaˇ, "he who draws out arrows;" a shaman who professes ability to withdraw arrows shot into people by other bad shamans.

akum′, these (animate pronoun).

ämak′, a bee; *pl.*, ämo′ak.

amo′pĕme, wax.

a′moso′poma, honey.

anä′, some.

ä′nä′maqki hawai′tokŏk, underground beings or gods, of whom the silvery white bear was chief.

änä′maqki′oq, beneath the earth.

Änä′maqki′sä, "little-thunder," a personal name.

ana′maqkiuˇ, cellar; anything underground.

ânâ′maqki′ñ, underground. Also denotes the evil beings who dwell in the earth, and who constantly antagonize the inä′mäqki′wŏk—thunderers—and the human race. These beings destroyed Na′qpote, the brother of Mä′näbŭsh; and they also gave the latter much annoyance at the time of his growing to manhood, and at the establishment of the Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society.

änä′mäqkiñˇ, inä′mäqki′ñ, 1. the thunder; the thunderbird; deities of the air, who cause the spring rains to come to produce vegetation. 2. One of the phratries of the Menomini Indians, embracing the kinĕ′uˇ, shawa′nani′, pinä′shiu, opash′koshi, pakäsh′tsheke′u′, pekike′kune, ke′shewa′toshe, maq′kwoka′ni, kaka′kĕ, inäq′tĕk, piwat′inot′, omas′kos, and una′wanīnk′.

anaq′, star; *pl.*, anaq′kŏk.

ânaq′kian, anaq′kion, mat.

â′naqkwŏt, cloud; *pl.*, â′naqkwŏtan.

Ane′mau, a German; *pl.*, Ane′mauwŏk′.

a′nemau paqki′sikau, rye: i. e., German bread, from Ane′mau, German, and paqki′sikau, bread, flour.

ane′pakaku′aqtīk, black oak; the bark is crushed and boiled, and the decoction employed for sore eyes.

ani′no, those.

ânipi′ŏqkan, leaf; *pl.*, ânipi′ŏqkanan.

anŏ′peqkan, notch in the end of an arrow for the bowstring.

â′pätâ, half.

Â′pätâke′zhĭk, "half-the-sky," a personal name; from â′pätâ, half, and ke′zhĭk or ke′sīk, sky.

ape′sen, black. Also äpi′sīk.

Äpe′sen wä′mäqtiko′siñˇ, negro; i. e., black Frenchman, from äpe′sen, black, and Wä′mäqtiko′siñˇ, Frenchman.

aq′gots′, third.

aqkä′, kettle.

Aqki′nakŏshĕ′, "terrible-looking," a personal name.

aqku′apaqtâ′mä, the horizon.

aqpu'akan, a pipe bowl made of stone.
aqpu'akan nâq'tĭk, wooden pipe-stem; from aqpu'akan, stone pipe bowl, and nâq'tĭk stem, i.e., wood.
äq'tik, stick; piece of wood.
äs, placed before the cardinal numbers it forms ordinals, as äs nish', the second; äs mita'ta, the tenth.
a'sabema'tĭ sĭtu'a, to live.
ä'säni'u, angel.
a'sawĭq'kana, on the other side of the road.
ä'seäta'a, to do a thing; to act; to work.
ä'sepan, raccoon.
ase'päq, rock, stone.
asĕs'kĭ, mud.
äshâ'kan, mortar for crushing herbs and nuts.
äshâ'kanäq'tĭk, pestle; *lit.*, a mortar stick, from äshâ'kan, a mortar, and äq'tĭk, a stick or piece of wood.
asha'wĭk, there; at that place.
ashke'paki^{v}', green.
äskä', pine.
a'skaa'qpŭkŭ, an aquatic plant, growing to the height of 4 feet; roots used for medicine.
a'skikeshkipoto', to saw.
a'skikesh'kisama', to cut.
askĭ'paqtĭ', to strike.
asmuq'kâhâ, east.
as'nik, west.
Âss'kâss, the Menomini word for Oshkosh, a city in eastern Wisconsin. The word signifies bear's claw. *See* Oshkosh.
a'tano'qĕn, a story: a narrative.
atshi'ke'sĭŭ^{v}, north.
atshi'ke'sĭwä'ĕnan, the north wind.
Âwai'etŏkwâ'beno', "big-shade-coming-day;" a name applied to one of the mystic personages.
awai'tŏk, little.
awai'tŏk pa'niq, dwarf; from awai'tŏk, little, and pa'niq, boy.
Awâ'noquĭŏ^{v}, "the-air-we-breathe;" personal name of a woman.
awa'nuqnĭ^{n}'a, fog; also a personal name.
awisi'an, when are you going?
Bäboq'kewĕ̆ŭ, woodcock; the old man who carved an old woman out of a poplar tree; mythologic.
Baiä'weqshĭ', "that-which-rattles;" a personal name.
baku'oqtä', belt of skin.
bakwa'tene'kan, cake sugar; maple sugar made in the form of small cakes, which is served to visitors and children, and placed before the grave-boxes of the dead as an offering of "first fruits."
bama'desitŭ'a, life; living people; bama'desitŭa pasa' noqkiwŏk, living people must work.
bama'teshitnŏg, the people; all people.
bäqki', ashes.
bĕbo'na, a year; *pl.*, bĕbo'nan.
e^{n}, yes.
ehaiyom', this, referring to animate things.
enâ'baqtâm, his dream.
ĕnâ'baqtan, a dream.
ene'qpe, then.
enĕ', enoq, that.
eno', this suffix to the cardinal numbers forms the multiplying numbers, as, su'asĭk, eight; suasĭk'eno', eight times.
es, shell; e'sak', shells.
e'shika'nashi'kan, one side of his or her hips.
esh'ko'da, fire; *pl.*, esh'koden'.
e'sikan'ikĭŭ^{v}, half moon.
esko'tä, fire; also esh'kotä', the same as the Ojibwa form.
e^{n}'toshea wŏk, to create; to cause to be born.
ganik'ni'pe'sĕ, long lake, a long narrow body of water.
geo'netshĭ^{v}, to be surprised.
ge'sŏ, sun; usually pronounced ke'sŏ.
haiä'paqtaŭ tipäq'ka, midnight.
hanaq'kin, a mat, made of rushes or bark; general term for mats of any description.
hanaq'papĕqtsĭ. meteor, *lit.*, falling star.
hâ'ne, some.
ha^{n}ni', a ball for playing games;

usually made of buckskin stuffed with hair; also, bullet.

hani'tiyŏn, fish spears.

ha'nŏke'sian, where are you going?

hannⁿ'ĕ, rattlesnake; larger and longer than the common *Crotalus horridus*, possibly the prairie rattlesnake of the prairie-dog towns of North Dakota.

haⁿq', star; *pl.*, hanaq'kŏk.

hau'ka, affirmation; yes; that is right; it is well. The word is employed in the Medicine society by members when one salutes another by his proper title of relationship or as a friend; then the one so addressed responds by the above term.

hawä'nĕ, who?

Hawä'tok, God.

haweᵛ', it is; that is.

heⁿ', yes.

hĭnĭ', and.

hiqka'tĕ, low, as low water.

hishe'ĕkĕ'ñᵛ, like; similar.

Hŏho'peshĕ', "little-whoops," a personal name, from hŏho', a call or whoop (onomatopoetic), and peshĕ', little.

Hoqpan'inq'ki, "lung-woman;" a mythical female.

hos'kĭeᵛ, to do; to be able to perform an act.

ik, signifies color, and forms an inseparable suffix in all words pertaining to color.

inä'mäqkĭ'ñᵛ, ana'maqkĭ'ñ, thunder; also refers to the thunder god; *pl.*, inä'mäqki'wŏk.

inän', natural.

inanä'bä, an ax.

inä'netshĭ'pai, "dressing the dead;" mitä'ᵛ ceremony for the dead when a new candidate is brought forward to fill vacancy.

inä'ni, inä'niñᵛ, man—specific and generic designation; miq'kinä'ni, medicine man; shaman.

inän'oqpan', plant growing wild, having a tuberous root resembling potato, and boiled and eaten as such; the word signifies "natural potato," from inän', natural, and oqpan', potato.

inän'sho'pŏma, maple sugar; from inän', natural, and sho'pŏma, sugar.

inäq'tĕk, raven; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

ina'wetŏ', rattlesnake skin, for medicine bag.

inĕ'', in, at, then.

Ino'otin, it is his?—used as an affirmation, and not as an answer to a question.

iom, this.

io's, here; at this place.

ishpe'kan, it is high.

Ka'dabaqshĭñᵛ, "one-who-broils:" a personal name.

kaiä'nomek ko'sa, "fishes," in general; proper names.

kaie'sani ne'awäq'kĭk, afternoon; from kaie'sani, after, later, and ne'awäq'kĭk, noon.

kaiis'nĕbäk, corpse—of man.

kaiyes', as soon; or, as soon as.

kaka'kĕ, crow; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

Ka'kikätshiwan, "everlasting falls;" a personal name.

kaku'ĕne, grasshopper; *literally* the jumper, the one who first possessed tobacco.

kaku'enĕñᵛ, kaku'ĕne, the grasshopper, *lit.*, the "jumper," the one whom Mä'näbŭsh commanded to always remain a jumper, and an annoyance to tobacco growers.

kan, no.

kân. *See* kon.

käna'maqtsĭñ snawaq'kĭk, mid forenoon.

kanau'mĕqtshĭñ', before, as, before some other event occurs; previous to.

kana'wehe'a, take care of us; protect us.

kau'niwĭq'tiqtonan, I can not.

kaq'kŏp, string.

kaq'pape'shi, thread; made of the nettle mashăn', or shä'nap, wild hemp. Also applied to common thread of foreign manufacture.

kaq'tse'idan, run, rapid movement.

Ka'shekoqkaŭ, "one-who-carries-light"; also applied to the moon. A personal name.

Kashkĭq'kapan, "the dark haze at the horizon." The name of a mythic female who dwells in the north, and who was visited by Mä'näbŭsh while the latter was still among the Indians.

Kä'tshemĭqtä'ŭ, "one-who-dances;" a personal name.

kawä'tokan, shades; mysteries. (See footnote, p. 39.)

Ka'wi'kĭt, "rough-face;" a personal name.

ke'an, thy body.

ke'bama'tisĭm, you live, or are alive.

kebit, your tooth.

kek, thy house.

ke'nach, thine; yours.

kene'puwe'mŭᵛ, you are standing (*pl.*).

Kĕne'shä, "eaglet;" a personal name.

Ke'niaqki'san, "little-eagle;" a personal name; from kinĕ'ŭᵛ, eagle, and ki'sa, little.

keno'kan, your hip.

ke'nuna'ha, to ascend; to go upstream.

kĕnu'shi shĭke'pŭ'ĭ, dwarf willows.

keŏ''netshĭᵛ, to be surprised.

keqpâ'kan, it is thick.

kes, after, employed to indicate something that has occurred; forms a past tense prefixed to a verbal phrase; thy head.

ke'sĕkoq, heaven.

kesh, past; after; keshni'po, he is dead; keshmâ'tshĭᵛ, "he is gone;" keshmâ'tshiwŏk, they have gone.

ke'shawa'toshe, k'eshewa'tshe, sparrow-hawk, *Falco sparverius;* also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

ke'shĭk, blue.

kĕshi''nĕ, swift flying, as birds of the genus *Falconidæ* dart through the air. Menomini form of Keshena, a village in Wisconsin. *See* Keshena.

Ke'shĭuqkäŭ, "moon-woman;" a personal name.

keshmâ'tshiwŏk, they are gone.

keshni'po, he is dead.

Kesi''ĕne, Keshena, "swift-flying;" the name of a former chief of the tribe, and also the name of the village on the reservation. *See* kĕshi''nĕ.

ke'sĭk, the sky.

ke'sik hasi'nakŭŏ, "blue color," from ke'sik, sky, and hasi'nakŭŏ, color.

ke'sikinâmin, I see the blue sky.

ke'sikŏt, day; ke'sikotŭn, days; nis ke'sikŏt, two days, from nis two, and ke'sikŏt.

ke'skanan, cut with an ax.

kesma'tshiado', after they have gone.

ke'so, ke''sŏ, the sun.

ke'spapa'kaman', clubbed—with a stick, or pommeled with the fist.

kespi'ăto, after they have come.

ke'sposhi'pahan, he, or she, was stabbed.

kes we'qtamŏwan, he has told.

Keta'kibihot, the striped one; the sunfish; also a mythic personage who participated in the game of ball between the people of Mä'näbŭsh and the ânâ'maqkĭ'ñ. The modern name is nak'uti.

kĕ''tshinä'nĭŭᵛ, old man, from kĕ''tshi or kĕtshi, old, aged; inä'niŭᵛ man.

keu', thy wife.

Ke'waiatshi'wan, "the-eddy;" a personal name.

Kewäsh'kum, "to-cause-something-to-turn;" a personal name.

kewe'nĭmon, thy heads.

ki, it, he.

kikäse'nan, veins.

kikis', thy son.

kikiso'wawŏk', your sons.

ki'kitnan', council of Indians.

ki'kitŭ'wikŏ'mĭk, council home; from ki'kituan', council, gathering of braves and chiefs; and wikŏ'mĭk, a habitation. The latter word is a variant of wig'iwam, and is rarely heard; also, as wi'kiŏp.

ki'kitwŏn, to talk, to speak.

kime'wan, kime'an, rain; also a personal name.
kina', you; omitted from verbal forms.
ki'naq, yours.
kina''tshishin, tickle him or her; *imper.*
kina''tshiso', he or she is ticklish.
kina"nĕq'katayom', "that you may feel good."
kĭnĕ', you.
ki'nē, giant.
kĭnĕ'kitɪn, it is yours.
kĭnĕ'puam, thou art standing.
Kine'she, "young-eagle;" personal name.
kinĕ'nˇ, golden eagle; a gens of the Big Thunder or Eagle phratry.
kinĕ'nˇwai'denât, "coming-to-the-eagle;" the Menomini name applied to the beaver when he came to the Eagle phratry as the head of a gens. He is now second chief of the phratry. He came with an Ojibwa name, which meant "white hands," Wa'pinä'-kät, on account of the lighter color of the soles of his paws.
Kĭ'nĭaqki'sa, "little-she-eagle;" a personal name.
Kĭ'niaqki'ŭ, "eagle-woman;" a personal name.
kinis', a long while.
kini'shipi'minaq'kiyă', we two twist.
kĭnok', skin.
kĭno'ka, "the-long-one;" a personal name.
kino'pik, snake.
ki'nua, you; we.
kinu''ä, ye, yourselves.
kinu''äkiti'nuä, it is yours.
kī'oˇ, mother; ni'kioˇ, my mother; o'kium, his mother.
kipi'minaq'ki, we twist.
kiqkaq'kwun, shin.
kiqsĕ'se, girl.
kis, son.
kiseteq'se, little toe: *pl.*, kiseteq'san.
kise'wato'ssĕ, sharp-shin hawk.
kishä', good, great; all powerful; Kishä' Ma'nido, great mystery, the chief ma'nido of the many recognized by the Menomini.
Ki'shano'wĭŭ, "one-who-sheds-tears;" a personal name.
Kishe'wadō'shä, "swift-little-hawk;" a personal name.
Ki'shiwä'tshiwan, "roaring-rapids;" a personal name.
Ki'skapamiq'kĭŭ, "early-dawn;" the name of a mythic female who dwelt in the north. She was visited by Mä'näbūsh, while the latter was still among the Indians.
kis'kâsh, toenail.
kis'pin, if.
kitâ'bâkŭs, lynx. (*L. canadensis* L.)
kitä'mi, kitä'mu, the porcupine; also a gens of the Bear phratry.
kititan, your sinews.
k'itosha'shishine', we slipped.
kitshki'ŭˇ, old.
ki'ŭˇ, they.
Kiwaqkwo''amuqk', "flying-clouds;" a personal name.
kiyu', that place; that spot.
ko'atan, afraid.
kŏke'an, to dive.
kokosh', hog; pork.
kop, snow.
konä'pamik, "sacred thing," the shell, *Cypræa moneta*, employed by the medicine men in their ceremonies of initiation. The shell is apparently swallowed, the breath blown on the medicine bag, and then the bag thrust toward the candidate, by which action the shell is supposed to be shot into the latter's breast. The Ojibwa and Ottawa term for this shell is mī'gis; Potawatomi, wâp'miknŏk.
konwo'iak, nobody; *lit.*, not somebody.
koqke'wâba', koqke'waboq', day after tomorrow.
koqke'wanâ'koˇ, day before yesterday.
koq'kipikuq'ki, the mouse; a mythic animal that cut the sinew cord with which the sun had been tied.
koqnä'sŏk, thy fathers.
koq'ne, thy father.
kŭkŭ'kŭu', owl; the horned owl. (*Bubo virginianus.*)

kuniq′katan′, frost.
Kushe′aqkĭ′ŭ, "French-woman;" a personal name.
kwapu′owe, o′kapu′owe, the hazel.
kwi′tshiwa′no, "current-from-above;" a personal name.
kwopŏ′, juice; sap, as of a tree.
mä′′äsĕ, many.
mä′ätĭk, stick counters, used in gaming.
mä′atĭkonâgan, wooden bowl; employed usually in playing the game of âka′qsiwŏk.
mä′ätikwop, bow, made of wood.
määtsh′awai′ĕdŏk, great mystery; from määtsh′—great, and wai′edŏk, unknown being. The latter word is seldom employed except to indicate the God of civilized peoples, the ordinary designation of a mystery or shade being ma′nido.
maioq′kaqa, sunrise.
mä′kese′sapakwa′tä, bead belt, used by shamans during ceremonials of the cult societies.
mamâ′kaᵛ, slave.
mamâ′tsĕĭta′, Indian; sometimes abbreviated in conversation to mamâ′tshim.
mama′tshĕ′tau, Indian; *literally*, "moving he is."
ma′matshĕ′′tawŏk, the Indians.
mamä′tshoqki, to gag, as when nauseated.
mä′näbai, giant; mä′nabaiwok, giants.
Mä′nabaiwŏk, giant people who dwell in the extreme pole, who fish by the light of torches; the light is seen against the sky as the aurora.
Mä′näbŭsh, the Menomini hero-god; the grandson of Noko′mis, and intermediary in the founding of the Mitä′wit or Medicine society, between the Great Unknown and the Indians; from mäshä′, great, and wabŭs′, rabbit; great rabbit, because of his ability to perform great deeds.
mä′′näkua, badger. In Menomini myth he received from Mä′näbŭsh the skin of the silvery white bear, one of the defeated underground beings.
ma′nät, plenty; sufficient.
mä′näto′wŏk, much game; name of Manitowoc, a Wisconsin town.
mä′nawats, few.
Mänä′wŏt, Menomini for the word Milwaukee; Mänä′waqkiik, the Potawatomi form.
maq′kak′, sugar box; made to hold granulated maple sugar. Made of birchbark, oblong, and a little narrower at the top than at the bottom. It has a conical cover, which is stitched down until the sugar is needed.
maq′käsin, moccasin; *pl.*, maq′käsinan.
mäqki′, blood.
mâq′kĭk, mäq′kĭk, maq′kĭŭᵛ, red.
mäqkŭ′ŏm, maqku′ŭm, ice.
maqku′ŭm babe′qtsin, hail; from maqku′ŭm, ice, and babeq′tsin, falling.
maqkwa′ninĕuk′, mythical red birds, who were in reality Indians so transformed, through the aid of magic powers. These birds were found by Mä′näbŭsh, in his travels while yet among the first Indians who existed.
mäq′kwâ′nŏp, wool belt, used by men as a sash.
maq′kwoka′ni, ma′quana′ni; red-tail hawk, *Buteo borealis*. Also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
mäq′sewan, wood.
mäq′tĭkpaqaq′tshikan, wooden mallet used by women to beat elm logs for the purpose of loosening the splints for making baskets.
mä′se, masĕ′′, many.
mase′naqnâtek, printed.
mäshä′, me′sha, great, all-powerful.
mashân′, nettle; a plant of the genus *Urtica*, the fiber of which is made into thread for sewing.
ma′shena′qekan, book, paper.
Mä′shĕnomäk, great fish; a mythic water monster which devoured many of the first people, but who was in turn destroyed by Mä′näbŭsh.

mashkiq'kiŭ^{v}, medicine.
masko'tia, prairie.
masko'tia pisäq'kiŭ^{v}, buffalo; from masko'tia, prairie, and pisäq'kiŭ^{v}, cattle.
masse'nä, turkey.
mä'tehosh', wooden canoe, or dugout.
mä'teko'min, acorn; *pl.*, mä'teko'minan.
mä'tīk, tree; *pl.*, mä'tikŏk.
mä'tīkwop, wooden bowl; ma'tīk, tree, wood, and wop, bowl.
mäts, great.
Mätsĕwai'ĕdŏk, the devil; bad being. Literally signifies bad god, as the word Wai'ĕdŏk is employed to designate the God of the whites, ma'nido being the proper word to signify mystery or shade.
Ma'tshe hawai'tŏk, "bad being or mystery;" the devil.
matsheq'kewis, eldest brother.
mâ'tshi, great, celebrated, large.
mä'tshi, mä'tsi, bad.
Mätshikinĕ'ŭ^{v}, Mät'sikinĕu^{v}, "bad-eagle:" a personal name.
Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wīs, "she-who-governs;" the name of a mythic woman who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä'näbŭsh during his wanderings.
matskiset', big toe.
Mätwash'kät, "making-a-sound as-he-goes;" a personal name.
mawau', all.
meäbīt, me'bit, me'pit, tooth; ke'bit, your tooth; ni'bit, my tooth; we'bit, his or her tooth; *pl.*, me'pitan, me'bitan.
me'iŏ^{v}, body.
me'kĕm, to give.
me'minem, to vomit; ni me'minem, I vomit.
me'mŏt, a friend; ne''at, my friend.
men, berry; *pl.*, me^{u}'nän.
me'na, me'nĕ', hair; me'nĕ'nŭn, hairs.
menän', to give to someone else.
me'nŏk, glans penis.
meno'mä, rice; the seed of the wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*, used to great extent by the Indians. The Menomini Indians are named after this seed. (See p. 12.)
mep, an arrow.
mepäq'kiqkwanâ'gan, ankle.
meqku'ŏm, the ice.
mes, head; mesŭn, heads; wes, his head; inä'niŭ^{v} wes, man's head.
me'sha, mäshä', great, all powerful.
me'shinika'ke, chicken-hawk (believed to be the swiftest).
me'sibine'bīk, water demons; *pl.*, me'sibine'bikŏk.
me''simin, apple; *pl.*, me''siminŏk.
me'sokna'san, to sew.
me'tīk, a stick, twig, or piece of wood.
me'tīko'nĕ, canoe.
me'tsheshŏ', he or she is eating.
metshe'shŏwŏk', they are eating.
metshĭm', food.
Mīa'kinĕŭ^{v}, "true-eagle;" a personal name.
mian', straight.
Mia'nisĕ, "little-owl," the nickname of a tshi'saqka, named Na'waqkwäs'kum, "he-whose-feet-do-not touch-the-ground."
midân', mouth.
migäq'sikwon, knuckle.
mi'hikan, a road.
mi'hikä'sä, a trail.
mikä'atshine, thumb.
mika'san, vulva.
mikä'tīk, knee.
mikek', otter.
mikoq'tägan, mikŏq'takan, throat.
mimä''anŏt, stomach.
mimä'nitä, brain.
mimä'tikwŏk, bowstring; the word is sometimes pronounced mimä'ätikwok.
mimot', belly; omo'te, his belly.
minä', right hand.
mi'naba'kan, right arm below elbow.
minä'maqtshian', left arm.
minâ'pium, husband.
minâq'ki, armpit.
mi'ne'nenä'tshin, finger.
mĭ'nikân', village; city, i. e., large village.
mino'gan, hip.
mi'nonâgan, breast, of a woman.
mi'noq kwu'ŏn, scalp.

mi'nudi'sen, bag, used to hold or carry rice.
mip, morning.
mi'qegân, a path.
mi'qikan, a road.
mi'qikä'sä, a trail.
miq'kä, forehead.
miqka'an, heel.
miqkä'no, the turtle; also a gens of the Bear phratry.
miqkât', leg.
miqke'sik, eye; miqke'sikun, eyes.
miqki'kan, neck.
miqki'mŭn, shell necklace, used by women and men at ceremonial dances.
miq'kinäni, "medicine man." A member of the Mitä'wit or Grand Medicine society.
Miqkinä'nĭŭ^{v}, lucky man; a personal name.
miq'kinĕ'nĭ, a partisan, a leader; also a personal name.
miq'kiqkwu'ŏn, eyebrow.
miqkon', gall.
miqpâ'nŭn, lung.
miq'pepa'kun, rib.
miqtaq'pĕgan, chin.
miq'tawŏk, miq'tâwŏk, ear; miq'tawŏkun, miqtâ'wŏkan, ears.
miq'tigan, neck.
miqtshe'wäwŏk, right arm above elbow.
miqtshi'ikwŏn, thigh.
misâ'ba, lead.
mi'sägini'wi, bladder.
misäq'pa, footprint.
mise'kaqnan, hail.
mise'kaqnan, fine hail with first snow of the season.
miset', foot.
miset'esan, toes; *literally*, little feet.
mise'waiaq'tik, body or trunk of tree.
mishaq'kiminag'oshĕ'ŭ^{v}, wheat; the grains of the cereal.
mi'shikine'bĭk, the mystic water monster that destroyed Na''qpote, the brother of Mänä'äbŭsh.
mishke'sik, eye; face.
mishke'sik, eye; mishke'sikan, eyes.
Mishkwo'panoq, "red-dawn;" a personal name.
misik', again.
mi'sikaia'wit, second.
miskâs', fingernail; toenail.
misse'wŏs, "wound medicine:" a remedy employed in the curing of arrow or bullet wounds.
mitä', heart; medicine.
mitä'', navel; otä', his navel.
mitä'^{v}, a member of the Grand Medicine society of the Menomini Indians; *pl.*, mitä'wok. Ojibwa, midē'; *pl.*, mide'wok; Ottawa, mite'wini'ni, i. e., medicine man. Delaware, meteu, doctor, derived from *meteohet*, to drum on a hollow body; a turkey cock is sometimes called *meteu*, from the drumming sound of his wings. (Brinton and Anthony, Lenâpe-English dictionary.)
mitâ'gŏs, a warclub.
mita'mu, woman.
mitân', daughter; otâ'nan, her daughter.
mi'tăni'niĕn, right arm.
mitâ'nikum, nostril.
mitâ'niqtĭ, war-spear.
mitâ'nmaq'kan, shoulder.
mi'tânoq'ikan, first finger.
mitä'nuni^{v}, tongue.
mitä'onâqan, medicine dish: a vessel employed by medicine men in mixing plants and roots for medicinal decoction or infusion. Ojibwa, midē'onâqan.
mitaq'piqkan, chin; jawbone.
mitäskuo'tsine, little finger.
mita'ta, ten.
mita'ta hai'awĭk, tenth.
mita'ta na''nihine', thirteen; i. e., ten and three.
mita'ta'nano, ten times.
mita'ta ni'ananhine', fifteen; i. e., ten and five.
mita'ta ni'hine', fourteen; i. e., ten and four.
mita'ta niko'tine', eleven, i. e., ten and one.
mita'ta nikutwa'satähine', sixteen; i. e., ten and six.
mita'ta ni'shine', twelve; i. e., ten and two.
mita'ta no'qwikauhine', seventeen; i. e., ten and seven.
mita'ta saka'hine', nineteen; i. e., ten and nine.

mita'tassu'asĭkhine', eighteen; i. e., ten and eight.

mitä'towaq'ka, medicine drum; employed by mitä'wok during Medicine society ceremonies and initiation.

mitä'tsĭŏk', the shade or shadow which the Indian believes to hover about the place of death for four days.

mitan'gŏs, warclub.

mitan'niqti, war spear.

mitä'waqtĭk, medicine post, erected within the medicine building; from mitä', medicine; aq'tĭk, stick, post, or tree.

mitä'wikŏ'mik, the medicine wigwam; the structure in which the ceremonials of the shaman society is held. Ojibwa, mide'wigiwam. Ottawa, mite'wikŏ'mik. (See footnote, p. 70.)

Mitä'wit, the cult society of the Menomini; known commonly as the Grand Medicine society. Ojibwa, Mide'wiwin'. Ottawa, Mite'owin.

mitiq'san, skin leggings.

mitiq'suŏn, eat; ni mitiq'sĭm, I eat; ki mitiq'sim, thou eatest; me'tshesuŏq, he eats; kimi'tshiqsĭ, we eat; mitshiq'siknu, you eat; metshe'sŏwŏk, they eat.

mi'tisĭm, mi'tishĭm, to eat, eating.

mi'tshikiqkwe'wis, eldest sister.

mi'tshinŭe'ᵛ ke'bama'tisĭm, you are still alive.

mitshi'os, nose.

mitshis'kiŭᵛ, enemy; nitshi'kiuᵛ, my enemy.

miton', mouth.

mito'nine'sĕ, kidney.

mona'toäk, animals.

mo'nipiono'we, tamarack tree.

mo'qkaha, sunrise, *lit.*, digging something out of the ground.

moq'kuman, white man, Caucasian.

moqwai'o, maqwē'o, 1. The wolf. 2. A phratry, consisting of the Moqwai'o, Änäm', and Abä'shŭsh gentes.

mosh'kui'kwas, an aquatic plant found in cedar swamps, used as a remedy.

mo^{n}'s, moose; also a gens of the Moose phratry.

moskĭk', swamp.

moskn'tĭŭ, prairie.

Mowäq'kiŭ, eater—giant cannibals; referred to in mythologic tales.

mnqke'sik, face.

mu'säpä'ŭᵛ, old bachelor.

mu'säpi'aqkiŭ, old maid.

Mushaq'kwätuq'kĭŭ, "sky-woman;" a personal name.

nä'ĕna', elder brother—said by younger brother.

na'etä, smoke.

Nai'äqtäwäpami, "chief-of-a-multitude;" "can-not-but-be observed." A personal name, of the present second chief of the Menomini.

Naiäq'to, "certain-one:" a personal name.

naiĭk', sunset.

nai'omä'gan, neck-yoke for carrying buckets.

naioq'tä, a carrier, a transporter.

na^{n}ish', we two: employed in dual form.

na^{n}'ish ni'kipa^{n}moqna'ŭ', we two are walking.

na'kawa'hekataᵛ, granular sugar.

nâki'sĭt, observed, seen, visible.

nakn'ti, the sunfish; was formerly called keta'kibihot', the striped one, and as a mythic personage is referred to only under this latter designation in the ritualistic ceremonies. A gens of the Bear phratry.

namä'iᵛ, nomä'eu, sturgeon. A gens of the Bear phratry.

Nä'mäku'kĭu, beaver woman; a mythic being adopted by the Big Thunder phratry as one of its gentes.

namaq'tŏkanaq'tam, he struck it with the left hand, or left-handed.

nami'ŏqka, to kill sturgeon.

Nâ'motam', "tells-the-truth;" a personal name.

n'änä, näčna', elder brother.
na'nat'ska, humming bird, *Trochilus colubris*.
nä'natua, to kill, to destroy.
nä'nauwe'qta, a brave or warrior.
na''ni, three.
nä''nimau, tobacco.
na''ninŏ, thrice.
na''nino mita'ta, thirty; i. e., thrice ten.
na''nino mita'ta niko'tine, thirty-one; i. e., thrice ten, and one.
naniq'sĕ, a mouse (*Mus musculus* L).
nani'sĕ, rat.
näni'takina'kua, dusk.
na''niwŏk, three hundred.
na''niwŏk misik'ta niko'tine', three hundred and one.
na'nokupaq'kwe, a carrying bag.
Nano'qke, an old name for the bear; the word survives in the ritual of the Grand Medicine society. The usual modern designation is owa'sse. The old term refers to one of the deities who was changed by the Great Mystery into an Indian.
nänoweq'tau, war chief.
napa'kiken, it is flat.
Nä'pote, also pronounced na'q'pote; an "expert marksman;" the name of the brother of Mä'näbŭsh.
näqka, evening.
Na'qkaha''amu, "plucks-blossom-from-the-tree;" a personal name.
Nâqkwesh'kum, "until noon;" a personal name.
Na''qpote, "expert marksman;" the brother of Mä'näbŭsh, who dwells in the "land of the setting sun," to await the arrival of the shades.
naq'se, younger brother.
n'ase, younger sister, or brother.
nä'se', younger sister—said by elder brother.
Näsĕqkai'ĭk, "travels-alone;" a personal name.
Na'shikâ'pawe', "stands-in-the-dark;" a personal name.
na'shipu'tshi'kan, fibers made of bark.
na'taho'toa, to look for; to search for.
nâ'tâwe', a large, thick snake, like the viper; "has a face like a raccoon."
nâ'tâwe', the missasauga rattlesnake.
Natom'pĕmo^{n}nĕŭ^{v}, "the first one to walk;" personal name of a woman.
Nätshi'wĭqkŏ'. "he-who-bullies;" a personal name.
näwai'wan, sturgeon; plural of nämai', or näwai'.
Na'waqkwäs'kum, "one-whose-feet-do-not-touch-the-ground;" a personal name of a tshi'saqka, whose nickname is Mia'nisĕ, "little-owl."
Nawaq'kweshkŭm', "half-a-month;" a personal name.
Na'wata'winĕ'ŭ, "she-who-picks-berries;" a personal name.
näwä'ŭ^{v}' "one-who-sees;" the name for the sand viper, *heterodon* sp?
'ndâ', uncle—father's brother.
neât', friend.
ne'au, my body.
nĕ'awäq'kĭk, noon, midday.
nebân', sleep, to slumber; nibän', dead; ni'bŭa, he is dead.
nek, my house.
ne'kan, the ground, soil, sand.
ne'kon, my houses.
nekot'eno, once.
nemak', now.
ne'mâtŏk, elder or younger brothers.
nĕme'nekĕm, give to me.
ne'moak, a dance.
ne'naq, mine.
ne^{n}''nau', killed; referring to many that may be killed, as fish or any other objects.
ne'ninan, our head.
ne'paqaqkwaq'tĭk, black ash.
nepäu', death.
ne^{n}peno'ä, summer.
nepua', dead.
ne'puam, standing.
ne'pue^{v}, he or she is standing.
ne'puwe'makŏt, it is standing.
ne'puwe'mŏk, they are standing.

Ne'qkoshi'anŏ'ñˇ, "hasty;" "high temper;" personal name of a woman.
nes, my head.
ne''tau, brother-in-law; either sister's husband, or wife's brother.
nĕ'nˇ, wife.
newe'newan, my heads.
ni, my, our; before words beginning with a consonant.
niˇ, four.
ni'anän, five.
ni'ana'nanŏ, five times.
ni'ana'niwŏk, five hundred.
ni'ananiwŏk' misik'ta niko'tine', five hundred and one.
ni'anan, mita'ta, fifty; i. e., five times ten.
ni'anan mita'ta niko'tine', fifty-one; i. e., five times ten and one.
nibän', dead, deceased.
ni'bit, my tooth.
ni'bŭa, he is dead.
ni'daiä'nim, I laugh.
nidishi'eⁿnŏk, all brothers and sisters.
niˇ'ino, four times.
niˇ'ino mita'ta, forty; i. e., four times ten.
niˇ'ino mita'ta niko'tine', forty-one; i. e., four times ten, and one.
nik, sunset.
nika'dama'tschiâm, I am going.
nikan'; *pl.*, nika'ni, a colleague, or companion mitäˇ' or medicine man; a salutation employed by a member of the Mitä'wit when he enters and takes a seat.
Ni'kaniq'sakwäˇ'ñˇ, "she-who-leads;" a personal name.
Ni'kânish', "foremost-man;" a personal name.
nikaq'tshikam, I run.
nika'taminäm, I want to drink.
nika'timâ'tshiam, I am going.
ni'ka'timâ'tshiam wāba', I am going tomorrow.
ni'ke'anka, I am born.
nike'sminäm, I did drink.
ni'keth mâtshiam, I have gone.
niˇ'kloˇ, my mother.
nikis', my son.
niko'shimaq', elder or younger sisters.
ni'kŏtke'so, month; from ni'kot, one, and ke'so, sun, and omitting, the word tabaq', night—which is used to designate moon as "night sun."
niko'tono', once.
ni'kŏts, one.
niku'tiqnŏk, one thousand; also sometimes abbreviated in rapid conversation 'nkut'wŏk.
niku'tuwäk', one hundred.
niku'tuwäk' misikt'a niko'tine', one hundred and one.
niku'tuwäk' misik'ta ni'shine', one hundred and two.
niknutwa'sätä, six.
ni'kutwa'satahai'awīk, sixth.
ni'kutwa'satä' mita'ta, sixty; six times ten.
ni'kutwa'satä mita'ta niko'tine', sixty-one; i. e., six times ten and one.
ni'kutwa'sätä nanŏ, six times.
ni'kutwa'sätä niwŏk', six hundred.
ni'kutwa'säta'niwŏk misik'ta niko'tine', six hundred and one.
nimä'nim, I am drinking.
nimäq'sa, nimaq'so, my grandfather.
nima'tseitam', I am roving.
niˇme', elder sister—said by younger brother.
ni'me'minem, I vomit.
nimi'kim, I give.
nimi'tishim, I am eating.
ni'mot, my brother.
nina'ˇ, we; us; ourselves.
niⁿ'nä, I; myself.
nina'bema'tesim, I live; I am alive.
ninâ'minäm', I shall drink.
niˇ'nanaiâ'wik, fifth.
niⁿ'nänik, my house.
niⁿnä'nitin, it is mine; *lit.*, I, mine.
ni'na'niti'nina, it is ours.
ni'na''nomi, cough.
nine'puam, I stand; I am standing.
nine'puam'inan, we are standing.
nino'kan, my hip.
Nio'pet, "four-in-a-den;" personal name; name of the present chief of the Menomini, who is the son and successor of Osh'kosh.

nipa^{n}′moq ne′minau, we are walking.
nipe′shĕ, lake; Shawa′no nipe′she^{v}, Southern lake; a body of water in Wisconsin.
nipĕ′ŭ^{v}, water.
nipĕŭ^{v} pâ′kotĕ′ŭ^{v}, spray; from nipĕŭ^{v}, water, and pa′kotĕ′ŭ^{v}, flying.
nipi′hikem, I paddle.
nipi′hike′men′aŭ^{v}, we paddle.
nipi′minaq′kim, I twist.
nipi′oshkuu, bullrushes, used in making mats.
ni′pishkino′pik, water snake; from ni′pish, water, and kino′pik, snake.
ni′pou, my arrow.
nipui′nämä′, brother's son, or daughter.
niqe′, mother's brother—uncle; also applied to male cousin—sister's son.
nis, nish, two.
Nisĕt′, corruption of Elizabeth; a proper name.
nishi′menau′pihe′kĕ^{v}, we two paddle.
nishitŭa′piminaq′kitŭa′, they two twist.
ni′shiwŏk pihike′wŏk, they two paddle (dual form).
ni′sinŏ, twice.
ni′sino mita′ta, twenty; i. e., twice ten.
ni′sino mita′ta na′nihine′, twenty-three; i. e., twice ten, and three.
ni′sino mita′ta ni′ananhine′, twenty-five; i. e., twice ten, and five.
ni′sino mita′ta ni^{v}′hine′, twenty-four; i. e., twice ten, and four.
ni′sino mita′ta niko′tine′, twenty-one; i. e., twice ten, and one.
ni′sino mita′ta ni′ku twasatähine′, twenty-six; i. e., twice ten, and six.
ni′sino mita′ta ni′shine′, twenty-two; i. e., twice ten, and two.
ni′sino mita′ta no′qwikanhine′, twenty-seven; i. e., twice ten, and seven.
ni′sino mita′ta sa′kähine′, twenty-nine; i. e., twice ten, and nine.
ni′sino mita′ta ssu′asikhine′, twenty-eight; i. e., twice ten, and eight.
ni′sita^{v}, a foot.
ni′suwŏk, two hundred.
ni′suwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′, two hundred and one.
nit, my, our; before words beginning with a vowel and the aspirate h.
nita′näbaq′tan, my dream.
nitä′nuni′ŭ^{v}, my tongue.
nitä′pinan′, I caught him.
ni′tshian, infant, male or female.
nitshish′kiŭ^{v}, enemy.
ni′ŭ^{v}, four; also pronounced ni^{v}.
niwi′no, fourth.
niwiq′tiqtan, I can; I am able.
ni′wŏk, four hundred.
ni′wŏk misik′ta niko′tine′, four hundred and one.
Ni′yätäwa′pomi, "a conspicuous or large person;" a personal name.
'nku′twŏk, one thousand; a rare contraction of niku′tiqnŏk.
no′kau, the hip.
Noko′mis, the grandmother of mankind and of Mä′näbŭsh and his brother Na′q'pote. The earth.
noma′ĕŭ, sturgeon; Noma′wiqkito, Sturgeon bay.
nomäi′, beaver.
nomäsh′, fish; also a personal name.
Noqko′mä, grandmother; the usual form is Noko′mis. This signifies also the earth, being personified as the mother of Mä′näbŭsh, the mythic deity who acted as intermediary between the Good Mystery and the Indians; the founder of the Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society.
noqnä′sŏk, my fathers.
noq′ne, my father.
noq′nĕ, father.
noq′nenau, our fathers.
noq′sĕsĕ′, grandson; granddaughter.
noq′wikau, seven.
noq′wikau hai′awĭk, seventh.

no'qwikan mita'ta, seventy; i. e., ten times seven.
no'qwikan ta''nīwŏk, seven hundred.
no'qwikan ta''nīwŏk misi'-kta niko'tine, seven hundred and one.
no'qwikata'na'no, seven times.
no'ten, wind; *pl.*, notenän.
nowä', late.
nowe'na, after a while; shortly.
nowe''nan, wind.
o, his; their; before words beginning with a consonant.
oka'kopena'kan, basket, made of thin splints of wood.
Okan'to, "boat paddle;" a town in Wisconsin—Oconto.
o'kapu'owe, the hazel; contracted to kwapu'owe.
oka'sanan', her vulva.
okä'skimânī', kingfisher.
okâ'wa, pike, a fish; Ogâq'kanĕ, the "place of pike:" the name for a town in Wisconsin, named Kaukau'na.
o'kawa'sīkŭ, coot; also a gens of the Crane phratry.
O'kĕmawa'peshīŭ', "chief-of-the-swans;" a personal name.
o'kian, his mother.
O'kimâsh, "younger-chief;" a personal name.
oki''san, his or her son.
o'kitshiwa'no, "on-the-summit;" a personal name.
oki'ŭ', can; able; to be able.
oko'qtaka'ni, by the throat.
oko'qtaka'ni nitä'pi"nau', I caught him by the throat.
o'k'shŏsh, o''sass muskrat; the younger brother to the beaver, and a sub-phratry of the Bear phratry.
okwe'man, chief; council chief; leader; a personal name; old chief, Shekâ'tshokwe'man.
omä''nomi'nĕ'u', Menomini; *pl.*, omä'nominĕwok', from mäno'mĕ, rice, and inä'niŭ', man.
omäs'kos, the elk; one of the younger brothers of the Big Thunder gens and phratry, and also the water carrier.
omâs'kŭs so'kum, antelope skin; from omâs'kŭs, antelope, and so'kum, skin.
omi'"ni', wild pigeon.
o"mot', belly—abdomen.
onä'ko, oná'ko', yesterday.
onäm', a dog.
onä'miqkiu, thunder.
onä'nekŭot, sport; fun; amusement.
ŏnä'nin, to swim.
opäq'kwoni', his or her back.
o'päqui'sĕ, a boy; youth.
opäq'sus, a deer.
opa'shĕso'kum, buckskin.
opash'koshi, turkey buzzard; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
opi'kishika', one who dries the drum head by holding it toward the fire.
opi'shĭŭ', black.
opi'wĭkan, a bone with a hole through which fibers are drawn for smoothing.
oqkât', his or her leg.
oqko'man, oqko'mŏn, iron.
oq'nan, his father; oq'nanan, his fathers.
oqpän', potato; *pl.*, oqpä'niŏk.
oqpe'tawŏk, oqpe''tawŏk, the fliers; a term applied to the various birds composing the so-called thunderers, or the Big Thunder phratry, i. e., the eagles, hawks, etc.
oqpu'akan, pipe; nit oqpu'akan, my pipe.
oqt'äqkwan, a limb of a tree.
oqta'tisiĕ'ŭ', to be born.
os, the radical of the designation *father*, though usually combined in conversation with the pronoun, as no'sa—my father, etc.
osâm', "it to be:" it is; state of being.
o'sass, o'k'shŏsh, muskrat; the name also of a subphratry of the Bear phratry.
Osa'wapanoq'kiu', "the-greenish-tint-seen-at-early-daybreak." The name of a mythical female who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä'näbŭsh while he was yet among the Indians. This woman was the wife of Pas'kinĕ'ŭ'.

osâ′wa shu′nien, gold; from waisâ′wik, yellow, and shu′nien or ssu′nien, metal, money.
ose′kan, grass.
ose′kan kino′pik, small green grass snake, common in temperate climate.
ose′peo′me, his creek, or small stream; from reference to the original birthplace of the wolf, i. e., moqwai′o, wolf, and ose′peo′me, his creek.
osha′shishin′, he or she slipped.
osha′shishi′nŏk, they slipped.
osha′win, yellow.
oshi′kan, hips; pelvis.
oshkē′inä′niŭ^{v}, young man; youth; from oske′ or oshke′, young, and inä′niŭ^{v}, man.
O^{n}sh′ko^{n}sh, "claws;" Osh′kosh, late chief of the Menomini Indians.
O′shona′muni′qkĭŭ^{v}, "vermilion-woman;" a personal name.
oske′, young; new.
oske′ge′so, young sun, new sun; after daybreak.
oske′inäniŭ^{v}, young man; youth; from oske′, young, and inä′niŭ^{v}, man.
os′kima′moshiwe′, to copulate; original form of word found throughout northwestern and prairie tribes, mosh′ewe.
os′kimita′mu, young woman; a maiden; from os′ki, young, and mita′mu, woman.
os′kinä′ni, to kill.
os′kinä′niu^{v}, young man; from oskē′, young, and inä′niŭ^{v}, man.
o′ski′nipa, to die.
os′se, a species of duck called the "old squaw;" also a gens of the Crane phratry.
ot, his; their; before words beginning with a vowel and aspirate h.
otä′tshia, the crane; a gens of the Crane phratry.
oti′nopi′ane, stern, of boat.
otoq′kaniman, amulet; charm.
otshi′tan, sinews.
otshi′aninŏ′ko, bow, of canoe.
otsi′pĕ, stump of tree; also applied to a root.
owä′otin, whose is it?
owä′qsĕ, owa′sse, a bear.
pa′kahe′kanak, sticks used by singers to keep time to the rendering of chants or songs: *literally*, singing sticks.
paka′nawe′, butternut tree; the wood preferred for dugout canoes.
pakaq′tshikä′sä, hammer.
pakäsh′tshĕkĕŭ^{v}, swift-flying hawk; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
pâ′kotĕ′ŭ^{v}, flying; nipe′ŭ^{v} pâ′kotĕ′ŭ^{v}, *lit.*, water flying; spray.
Päme′′net, "flying-by;" a personal name.
Pa′miki′shĭkŏk, "scattering-clouds;" a personal name.
pa′niq, boy.
papeq′tsinan, fall, drop, tumble.
päq′kewo′po, lye obtained from wood ashes and used in making solution in which to boil fibers, such as basswood bark, etc, for making cord or thread.
päq′ki, ashes.
päqki′nishe′ĕkĕ′ŭ^{v}, flour; *lit.*, pulverized like ashes; from päq′ki, ashes, and neshe′ĕkĕu^{v}, like, similar to.
päqki′shitan, bread.
paqki′sĭkan, wheat; flour.
paqte′tshugan, "fighting medicine;" a substance given by Mä′näbŭsh to one of the ten who came for gifts.
Päsa′näqkwatŭq′kĭŭ, "the-touching-clouds;" a personal name.
pasa′noqkiwŏk, they must work.
Pa′shaano′qkĭŭ, "the-yellow-streak-of-vapor-seen-at-early-dawn." The name of a mythic female who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä′näbŭsh, while the latter was still among the Indians.
Päshana′niuqkĭŭ^{v}, "the bird's-tail-touching;" a personal name.
pa′siku′gäsi meno′mä, oats; *lit.*, horse rice, from pa′siku′gäsi, horse, and meno′mä, rice.
pâ′siwŏk, to dry, by hanging up to dry.
paskwo′hekan, wooden scraper used in dressing the soaked and stretched deerskin.

pawawikī. to scrape with a short scraper on a board, as when dressing deerskin.

pawawikan. "the place where one is knocked out" of the ear.

pawawikan. stick for beating the hemp stalk: pl. pawawikanuk.

pawawikanig tik. forestling stick used in beating hemp from the bolt.

pe. the tube: the pestel.

pe'ak. tooth.

pe'ita. foam.

peka kawik. tube: tunnel.

pe kike'au'be. a species of hawk that remains in Wisconsin during the winter: also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

pe kisik. to break up—as ice in a river.

pe kwahe kan. wooden scraper used in dressing the smoked and stretched skin of deer.

pe mike mik. sweat-lodge: sudatory.

pe mis. sweetness. Ojibwa nabe-dewi-win.

pe'na'kan. walk: locomotion.

pe'na'tekel. short, generic.

pe'nai'kanan. fish-hawk: also a gens of the Eagle phratry.

pe'pe kan. it is thin.

pe'pon. year: winter.

pe'pikit. they lie.

pe'pisik-kame'wan. mide' bag. or sack used by a mide'win man in which to carry sacred objects.

pe'pisikwa'a. medicine bag: a pouch made of the skin of an animal, a bird, or even a bear's paw or a snake skin, in which are carried the sacred objects of a medicine man.

pe'sēu. pe'sēu. pe'seu. panther: *Felis concolor*.

pe'swi'ka. deer.

Pe'tiki'nikwe. "deer woman:" a personal name.

pe'tokwa'wan kan. snuff.

pe'wakik. cedar: cupressic plants.

pi. to paddle.

pi'ak. to arrive at or reach a place.

pi'bikan'ka. pi'pi'. paddle.

pi'bikan. to paddle.

pi'bikewik. they paddle.

pi'bikewik. you (two) paddle.

pi'bikewik. they paddle.

pi'kuaka. to tan.

pi'kuskisha. tanned buckskin.

pi'kwakē'ka. to scrape in an upright manner, as when dressing deerskin.

pi'minag kiuan. thou twistest.

pi'minag ke. he twists.

pi'minag kewik. you or they twist.

pi'minag kwan. twine, either of the stores or of domestic manufacture. The Indians employ the bark of the basswood for twine used in making mats, and also the wild hemp, shē'nap, and the nettle, masiun.

pi'ming ne. he or she is walking.

pi'napishkwishima. come and eat me: the words used by Mi'nabōsō to the water monster when he called the latter to destroy him.

pi'nēu kan. comb.

pi'nē shi. pi'nē shin. bald eagle: also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

pi'na'sī. wī shē'. "eagle leg." a prairie plant having yellow flowers, used as a medicine.

pi'ni'. to come or arrive at a place.

pi'pi'kiwe. sparrow-hawk. *Falco sparverius*: also a personal name.

pi'pi'kimanag a'mēnag tik. purple crow: from pi'pikiman. preserve, and a'mēnag tik. dye.

pi'pi'kwan. quiver for arrows.

pi'sēu kiu. cattle.

pi'sēu. pi'she'u. panther (*Felis concolor*).

Pi'shāqkē'nikē. "cattle-woman:" a personal name.

Pi'ta'wē. "approaching-daylight." a personal name.

Pi'tagā'mikoqkē. "that which grows:" a personal name.

Pi'tawā'shkwa. "coming sound:" a personal name.

Pi'tawā'kesikē. "coming-spirally:" a personal name.

Pi'wā'shkwa. "coming with a sound:" a personal name.

piwat inot. beaver: also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry. Former or archaic name. nomäi'.
poka'qtshi ki. the duck hawk. literally "the hitter," because of his rapid flight in descent when after quarry.
poniq'kotau. frost.
pono'e. winter.
posi'pahatu'a. to thrust with a weapon or pole.
po'sitū'a'. to get in or gain access to.
psha kiwas. plants of which a decoction is rubbed on the legs by players in athletic games.
sagi'si'. surprise: to be startled.
sa'''ie. now.
saiyi'kwakin. in the spring (of the year).
sa'kä. nine.
sa'kähai awīk. ninth.
sa kä mitäta. ninety: i. e., nine times ten.
sa'kä mita ta niko tine. ninety-one: i. e., nine times ten, and one.
sa kä mita ta sa kähine'. ninety-nine: i. e., nine times ten, and nine.
sa'käta 'nano. nine times.
sa käta'niwōk. nine hundred.
sa käta'niwōk misik ta niko-tine'. nine hundred and one.
saq ke. mink.
säqkom. saliva.
sa'wäna'nau. south wind.
sawä newe aq. have mercy on us.
sàwa no. south: also ssâ wa no, and sha wano.
sē'ko. weasel.
se pe. river: Mi nikā ni se pe. Menomini river.
sēqkum. saliva.
se wan. sweet.
se weqnan. sour.
Sha batis. corruption of Baptiste (French): a personal name.
Shāboi tōk. "penetrating-sound:" a personal name.
Shaka naqkwōd. "peeping-cloud:" a personal name.
shaka shita'. wax sugar: maple sugar in a waxy form, made by throwing the boiling sirup upon the snow. When cool, it is wrapped in pieces of birchbark and served to friends and visitors.
shake'buqtam. to bite (general term).
shak'shak ēn. great blue heron: also a gens of the Crane phratry.
shä nap. wild hemp. This plant grows at times to the height of five feet, and is used by the Indians for making thread, the fiber being long and durable.
shawai niqtu nm. bless us: have mercy on us.
Sha wana ke zhik. "southern-sky:" a personal name.
sha wa nani. fork-tail hawk: also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
shawä ne me aq. have mercy on us.
shawà no'nan. south wind: from sha wano, south, and nowē'nan, wind.
Shāwaq ka. "yellow-wings:" a personal name.
shawä shiqtshikan. mercy.
shawas ket. an aquatic plant, used for medicine.
sheko. weasel.
sheshi kimä'. hard maple: *Acer saccharinum*, the sap of which is boiled for making sugar.
she wakamitā'. sirup.
she'wan. sweet.
she'weqnēn. sour.
she weqtā ken. salt: "sour and sweet."
she weta kan. salt.
she weta kan kaq kop. salted string; used in baiting rabbit traps.
she weta kan ni ap. string of salt: a continuous cluster of salt crystals.
Shi awāqkīū. "bend-in-the river:" a personal name.
shīkāk'. skunk: Shikā kâng, the place of the skunk, the original form of the word Chicago. *See* shikā ko.
Shikā kâng. "the place of skunks," from shīkā k skunk, and âng, the locative suffix. Shikāk', by Potawatomi, Fox and Kikapu: also, Skikāgung, by Ojibwa.

shikâ'ko, shikâ'go, skunk, *Mephitis mephitica*. The original of the name *Chicago;* sometimes pronounced also shi'gâgo, the g being rather unusual, though it occurs in the Ojibwa form shigâ'gung, the place of skunks, *gung* being a locative suffix. In Ottawa the word is shikâg'unk, *unk* being the locative.

shike'mẽ. Hell-diver, a wading bird of the genus *Fulica*.

shikin', urine.

shi'pi, a river.

shipi'asho'pomäq'tĭk, soft maple; from shi'pi, a river; sho'poma, sugar, and äq'tĭk, a tree.

sho'kum, hide or skin, as of an animal; as abä'shŭsh sho'kum, deerskin.

Sho'mĭn, "raisin;" a personal name.

sho'pomä, sugar, of any variety.

sho'pomakwopõ', sugar juice or sap.

sho'poqta, sucking, or tasting.

Shu'nĭen, Ssu'nien, money; a personal name.

sik'si'kwan, a flat drum, or tambourine, used by the jugglers, or tshi'saqka, during the period of invocation and chanting. It consists of a wooden band, covered with buckskin, or *parfleche*, and is beaten with a light drumstick, consisting of a stick, from 15 to 20 inches long, with a ball of buckskin secured at the farther end.

sinâ'wäta, "rattling tail," i. e., rattlesnake, *Crotalus horridus*.

skita', to be born.

sŏ'kana'niŭ^{n}, soon.

so'kum, skin, of an animal.

ssa'sowi kino'pik, garter snake; from ssa'sowi, olive colored, and kino'pik, snake.

ssikâk'. *See* shĭkâk'.

ssisi'kwan, rattle, of gourd or tin, used in ceremonial dances as an accompaniment to singing and drumming. The contents usually consist of grains of corn, or gravel.

ssoʻpoma, sugar.

ssu'asĭk, eight.

ssu'asĭk hai'anĭk, eighth.

ssu'asĭk mita'ta, eighty; i. e., eight times ten.

ssu'asĭk mita'ta niko'tine', eighty-one; i. e., eight times ten, and one.

ssu'asĭk ta'nano, eight times.

ssu'asĭk ta'niwõk', eight hundred.

ssu'asĭk ta'niwõk' misik'ta niko'tine', eight hundred and one.

su'baisĭok, wood-duck; *pl.*, su'baisĭokõk.

tä, that.

ta''apẽ, when.

ta''ape misik' api'ian, when are you coming again?

Ta'kizhĭkoqk', "day-woman;" a personal name.

tako'sawŏss, "the powder that causes people to love one another," love powder. Prepared from vermilion, scales of mica, and menstrual blood of a virgin, ground together, and secreted about the person whose affection is desired. It is put in a thimble, with some article like a hair or piece of clothing belonging to the one whose love is desired, and carried by the person operating. Cf. wiq'kiqpi'nakan.

tä'kwäkwo'a, autumn.

tamo^{n}', a gray squirrel; also the proper name of a woman.

ta''nâga, where.

tani'nakua'na, certainly; response to a question.

tänine'ñ^{n}, every.

ta'no''ka, where.

ta'nokkaiis' oqta'tisi'an, where were you born?

ta''nuna'gan, a trap; me'tĭk ta''nunagan, "stick trap," for catching small game generally; wabŭs' ta''nuna'gan, "rabbit trap."

täpä'nimenaq, our master.

taqnä'no we'iak, everybody.

tâ'tshikaqun', tattoo marks.

tawa'hiqkan, a tambourine drum used in social dancing.

täwäq'ikan, a drum, of any description; particularly a drum of

three pieces employed by drummers of the Dreamer society.

ta′wâq′ka, drum used in ceremonies of the Grand Medicine society. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out of a piece of tree trunk, about 15 or 18 inches high and from 8 to 10 inches in diameter, having a head of buckskin and a bottom of wood. Water is put into it to the depth of 2 or 3 inches, giving the drum greater intensity of sound, which may be heard several miles away on a quiet night.

ta′waq′ka′kwanä′tĭk, drumstick; from tawä′qkwa, drum, and aq′tĭk, stick or wood.

tĕ', at that place, that, there.

temi′ñ, it is deep—speaking of a river or a well.

tepă′kĕ′so, moon; *lit.*, last-night sun.

tepa′qkanokäwin, judgment.

tipäq′, night.

titaq′bĭñˇ, bitter.

tobaq′, night.

tobaq′ke′so, the moon; from tobaq′, night, and ke′so, sun.

toto′ba, the saw-whet owl.

towâq′ka. *See* ta′wâq′ka.

tshe′kabä′wa′sau, the name of a bowlder of pink granite, on Wolf river, where the Menomini deposit tobacco as an offering to the Great Mystery; formerly an Indian, but was transformed by Mä′näbŭsh, because he wanted everlasting life, which, as a rock, he is supposed to possess.

tshi′anisikan, a yellow flower resembling the aster, dried and powdered. It is then used as a snuff for colds, etc.

tshik′tshitĕm, "waterside," i.e., shore.

Tshikwâ′set, "the-sound-of-the-thunder:" a personal name.

tshi′pate′ñˇ, it is protruding, as from the ground like a twig; it is standing, like a post.

tshipe′kainoˇ, ghost feast; a ceremony of the Grand Medicine society observed before the ritual of initiation begins.

tshiq′kwan, meteor.

tshi′saqka, a juggler; one who foretells, and gives remedies for various diseases caused by invisible beings or evil ma′nidos.

tshi′saqkan, a juggler's operating wigwam, made by erecting four poles at equal distances, north, south, east, and west. They are then wrapped about with bark, blankets, or skins. The juggler enters and invokes the turtle ma′nido to bring him other ma′nidos to consult regarding prophecies or to answer questions put by visiting Indians.

uke′sonno′mĕ, crown of the head.

u′kiqkaq′tĭk, the jack pine, the roots of which are sometimes split into threads for sewing together pieces of birch or other bark, when making canoes or building bark huts.

umâ′nuĭ, cheek.

umu′neⁿ, toothache worm; when pain occurs in the joints, or teeth, it is believed to be caused by a small worm.

una′wanĭnk′, pine squirrel; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

uⁿnä′, his or her arm.

uⁿnäq′, hand.

uⁿnäq′keq′sau, finger—little hand, from uⁿnäq′, hand, and keq′san, little.

uⁿnäq′keq′si, his or her fingers.

uⁿnäq′ki, his or her hand.

unâ′tawa′pin, lightning.

unâwa′nik, squirrel.

uni′tipaqkot, night.

uqpâ′niñˇ, his or her chest.

uq′puokan, pipe.

uq′puokan ina′niñˇ, the "pipe man," the attendant to the musicians of the Dreamer society.

wä, what?

wâba′, tomorrow.

wâ′bakinĕ′ñˇ, "white-eagle:" a personal name.

wâban′, dawn; daylight.

Wâ′bashäĭñˇ, "white-dressed-skin;" a personal name.

wabä′shĭn, marten; also, a gens of the Moose phratry.

Wâ'batshi'kī, "white-fisher;" a personal name.

wâ'beno, a certain class of mystery men who profess prophecy, prescribe medicinal preparations, and, more particularly, make and dispose of love powders and hunting medicines.

Wâbenona'sīe, "Mystery of the dawn;" a deity.

wâ'benoqki", wâ'beno woman.

wâ'benotowaq'ka, wâ'beno drum, shaped like a tambourine and used during incantations. The stick is thin and elastic, about 20 inches long, and has a small ball of buckskin attached to the beating end.

wâ'benuna'qsiwōk, eastern people, people of the dawn; mythologic.

wâbish'kīñˇ, wabis'kīñˇ, white, or natural color of bleached rush leaves for making mats.

wâ'bitetshi'ō, white crane; was in myth originally a bear.

wabo'ian, blanket.

wâboq', tomorrow.

wâboqpän', swamp potato; a tuberous root found in moist places, and eaten by the Indians. The word comes from wabish'kīñˇ, white, and oqpän', potato.

wabu', broth; tea; juice; usually applied to infusions and decoctions, with specific determinative prefixed, as mashkiq'kīñˇ wabu'—medicine broth or tea, i. e., a liquid remedy.

wabūs', jack-rabbit or hare of the northwestern states.

wâgaq'koman, a draw-knife, used in smoothing split wood in basket-making, and for other purposes in woodworking.

waia'biskik, white.

waia'biskik ssu'nien, silver; from waia'biskik, white, and ssu'nien (or shu'nien), money, metal.

waies'kisi'nit, the good, referring to persons of superior moral traits.

Waima''tekit', "with bow-and-arrow;" a personal name.

Wai'sanwi'ta, "red-mouth;" the name of a mythic dog belonging to Mä'näbūsh, the hero god of the Menomini.

waisâwīk, yellow.

Wai'shikwonät', "tail of-the-great-fish;" a personal name.

waiwe'pisiñˇ, he is in a hurry.

Waiya'wē'saq'ka, "he-who-is-powerful;" a personal name.

wâka'mīu, clear, transparent, as water.

Wa'ketshan, "hunchback;" a personal name.

wā'ki, what?

wâkiˇ', crooked.

wâkiˇ'nin, crooked river.

wa'kō, red fox.

Wä'mäiqtiko'siñˇ, French; Frenchman.

wâna'gä, outer bark, of tree.

wanâ'ke, bark of a tree.

Wa'naqko''shē, "little-apex;" a personal name.

wani'tipäq'ka, night.

wâpäq'sē, marten.

wâ'pemin, grain of corn: *pl.*, wa'pemi'nōk.

wâ'sā, far, distant. The Menomini name for Wausau, a town in Wisconsin.

wâseq'sē, catfish.

wäsi'huan, paint.

watab', running or extending under the surface of the ground, as roots of trees, when used for making thread for sewing.

wata'boqpän', a tape-like tuberous root, of yellowish color, used for food. It is boiled like potatoes.

wa'tane'ken, it is round.

wâ'tap, alder; *pl.*, wâ'tapen

wato', ball.

watuq'siñ, live coals.

wâwiaq'pitan, an eddy, in a water course.

we'bit, his or her tooth.

we''etōn, bud, of tree.

we'iak, somebody.

we'iwī'kekoq'semiq'egân, "old women's path"—the rainbow.

wek, his house.

wē'kiwam, house.

we'kop, basswood bark; obtained

from the young sprouts and used in mat making.
wĕ′kowan, their house.
we′nach, his; theirs.
we′nanan, man's hair.
we′nŏk, his penis.
we′ŏwi′kä, old woman.
wepenâ′âtä, soot.
we′pŏts, early.
weq′ke, sweet flag; calamus; a plant of the genus *Acorus;* the root is chewed for a cold, cough, or sore throat.
wes, his head.
Wĕ′′skinĕ′ŭ^{v}, the chief of the kinĕ′ŭ^{v} or eagles; a mythic personage who had combat with the chief of the owä′sse, bears, over possession of fishing grounds.
we′sŏkan, pungent; peppery.
we′sup, gall; bile. The owä′sse we′sup, or bear's gall, is used to transfer to an enemy a worm that is supposed ultimately to kill him or her.
we′wan, his wife.
we′win, bow of horn.
wi′dishi′anŭn, wi′dishi′′anun, a phratry or brotherhood, consisting of a certain number of gentes or clans.
wi′gĭ, birchbark.
wi′ki, bark. *See* we′kop.
wi′ki hosh′, bark boat; from wi′ki, bark.
wik′iŏp, a habitation of bark, brush, or wood. It is a corruption of wikŏ′mik, which in turn comes from wigi′wam (wigwam).
wikŏ′mik, a habitation made of logs, bark, or other material; a variant of wig′iwam.
wi′naq, wĭnĕ′, his.
winĕ′otin, it is his; response to question, but if simple affirmation the word is inŏ′otin.
wi′nua, they; them.
winu′′äti′nuwaŭ′, it is theirs.
wĭ′ŏqkŭ′an, hat, head-covering.
Wios′kasit, "the-good-one:" a personal name.
wiq′kiqpinakan, small bundle of medicine carried in a thimble, which is suspended from a ribbon and worn under the clothing or about the neck. The "love-medicine" takos′wŏss is worn in this manner, together with a hair, fingernail paring, or a fragment of clothing, from the person whose affection is denied.
wiq′tiqtan, to be able.
wisâ′waskĭk′, green.
Wisha′noqkwōt, "dense-cloud;" a personal name.
Wishi′wäŭ′, "going-for-somebody;" a personal name.
wi′ski^{v}, good.
wop, bowl.
wotâp′, fir tree, the roots of which are split into threads for sewing together the pieces of birchbark in making canoes.
wu′tshik, wŭtsik′, the fisher; also a gens of the Moose phratry.
yom, this, applied to inanimate things.
yoq′pe, now.
yŏq′peoske′sikoq, yumke′sikŏt, today.

ENGLISH-MENOMINI

abdomen, o^{n}mot′; omo′te: his abdomen, mimot′.
able, to be, oki′ŭ^{v}; wiq′tiqtan; I am able, niwiq′tiqtan.
access, to gain, po′sitŭ′a′.
acorn, mä′tekomin; *pl.*, mä′teko′-muman.
across, aka′mia; on the other side of the road, a′sawiq′kana.
act, to, ä′seäta′a.
affirmation, hau′ka; e^{m}′; the former being employed as a response to a salutation or greeting, and signifies "that is correct;" "that is it;" "it is well."
afraid, ko′atan.
after, kes: kesh.
afternoon, kaie′sani ne′aw′äq′-kik, from kaie′sani, later than, and ne′awäq′kik, noon.
again, mĭsik′.
aged, kitshki′ŭ^{v}; sheka′tshau; oka′tshau.
alder, wâ′tap; *pl.*, wâ′tapen.
alike, hishe′ŏkŏŭ^{v}.

alive, I am alive: nina'bema'tesim.
all, mawau'.
amulet, otoq'kaniman.
amusement, onä'nekñot.
and, hīnī'.
angle, asä'niman; ä'sä'ni'wan.
animals, mona'toäk.
ankle, mepäq' kiq kwanâ'gan.
antelope, omâskūs.
anterior, kanau'mĕqtshiū'.
apple, me'simin; *pl.*, me'sminŏk.
arm, right, mi'tāni'niēn; his or her arm, n^{m}nä'.
arm, right (above elbow), miqtshe'wäwok.
armpit, minâq'ki.
arrive, to, pi'ŏt; i. e., to arrive at a specified place.
arrive at, to, pi'etät.
arrow, mep; my arrow, ni'pon.
arrow drawer, akni'kika^{v}, a man who is possessed of the power of withdrawing magic and invisible arrows shot by rival shamans.
ascend, a stream, ke'nuna'ha.
ash, black, ne'paqaqkwag'tik.
ashes, bäiqki'; päiq'ki.
at, inĕ'.
autumn, tä'kwäikwo'a.
ax, manä'bä.
bachelor, old, mn'säpä'ñ^{v}.
back, his or her, opäq'kwoni'.
badger, mä'näkna.
bag, na'nokupaq'kwe, for carrying small household articles; also a traveling bag.
bag, medicine, peqtshēnama'wan; Ottawa, pin'dziqusân'.
bag, rice, mi'mudi'seu.
ball, wato'; ha^{n}ni', usually made of buckskin and stuffed with deer's hair.
bark (of tree), wanâ'ke; wana'qä;
bark (for mats) we'kop.
bark boat, wi'kihosh'.
basket, oka'kopena'kan; basket made of elm splints.
baton, pa'kahe'kanak; stick used by singers in keeping time as if striking an imaginary drum.
bead belt, mä'kese'sapakwa'tä.
bear, owa'sse; the word employed for bear in mythic tales and the Grand Medicine ritual is na noq'kĕ. Sometimes pronounced, also, owäq'se. The Ojibwa word is noq'ke.
beaver, nomäi'; piwat'inot.
bee, ämak'; *pl.*, amo'ak.
before, kenau'mĕqtshī'ñ.
being, state of, osâm'; it to be; it is.
belly, o^{m}mot' omo'te: his belly, mimot'.
belt (of wool), mäq'kwâ'nŏp; used as a sash by men.
belt (of skin), baku'oqtä'.
berry, men'; *pl.*, me^{n}'nän.
bile, we'sup; miqkon'.
birchbark, wi'gī; wi'ki.
bite, to, shake'buqtam'.
bitter, titaq'bī'ñ^{v}.
black, äpe'sen; abi'sīk; äpi'sīk; opishiñ^{v}.
black oak, ane'pakaku'aqtīk. The bark is crushed and a decoction of it used for sore eyes.
bladder, mis'äginī'wi.
blanket, wabo'ian.
bless us, shawai'niqtu'um.
blood, mäiqki'.
blue, ke'shīk; ke'sīk; blue color, ke'sīkhasi'uakñŏ.
boat. *See* canoe.
body, me'iŏ^{v}.
bone, perforated, opi'wikan; a bone with a hole through which fibers are passed in making cord and thread.
book, ma'shena'qekan'.
born, to be, oqta'tisiē'ñ^{v}; skita'; I am born, nike'anka.
bow, wŏp; wooden bow, mä'ätīkwŏp.
bow (of boat), otshi'aninŏ'ko.
bow (of horn), we'win.
bowl, wop; onâgan; wooden bowl, mä'ätīk onâgan, used in playing the game of âka'qsiwŏk.
bowl, wooden, ma'tīkwop; from ma'tīk, wood, and wop, bowl.
bowstring, mimä'tīkwŏk; mima'ätīkwok.
box, sugar, maq'kak'.
boy, pa'niq; o'päqni'sĕ.
brain, mimä'nitä.
brave, a, nä'nauwe'qta.
bread, päqki'shitan.
break up, to, pe'kŭskŏk, to break up, as the ice on a river.
breast, female, mi'nonâgan.

broth, wabu′.

brother, ni′mot (my brother); elder brother, nä′ĕnä—said by younger brother. Younger brother, naq′se; elder or younger brothers, ne′mâtŏk; eldest brother, matsheq′kewis; brothers, ni dish′e^{n}nŏk.

brotherhood, wi′dishi′anŭn.

brother-in-law, ne′′tau; may be either sister's husband or wife's brother.

buckskin, abäq′soso′kum.

buckskin (tanned), pi′kŭihipâ′-sha.

bud, we′′etŏn.

buffalo, masko′tia pisäq′kiŭ^{v}; i.e., prairie cattle.

bullet, ha^{n}ni′.

bullrushes, nipi′oshkun.

bull snake, nâ′tâwĕ′.

butternut tree, paka′nawe′; wood preferred in making dugout canoes.

cake sugar, bakwa′tene′kan; maple sugar molded in the shape of small cakes; served to visitors and friends, and also deposited in grave-boxes of friends and relations as an offering.

calamus, weq′ke.

call, a, hŏho′.

canoe, me′tiko′nĕ; bark canoe, wi′kihosh; dugout canoe, mä′-tehosh.

cap for head, wi′ŏqkŭ′an.

carrier, naioq′tä.

catfish, wäseq′sĕ.

cattle, pisäq′kĭu^{v}.

cellar, ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ^{v}; ana′-maqki′u^{v}.

certainly, tani′nakua′na.

charm, otoq′kaniman.

cheek, umâ′nuĭ.

chest (breast), his or her chest, uqpâ′niŭ^{v}.

Chicago. From a Menomini word, shikâ′ko or shikâ′go—skunk. In the Ottawa language, Shikâ′gŭnk has the suffix *unk* as a locative, and signifies the place of the skunk, or skunks. In Ojibwa the word is Shigâ′-gung, the g commonly replacing the k of the Menomini, to which is added the suffix *ung* as a locative, thus making it, as before, "the place of the skunk," or, as it is usually designated, "skunk village." By the Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, and Kikapu it is termed Shikâk′. A Potawatomi woman, Kizhko′kwe (Day Woman), says that her uncle Suknak (Blackbird) used to trade at the post where the city of Chicago now stands, and that one day he and others saw a skunk trying to cross the river by swimming, but as the animal reached the middle it sank and drowned. From this circumstance, says Kizhko′kwe, the Indians always spoke of this locality as Shikâk′, it being a point where many gathered at stated intervals to trade and to receive goods. Cadillac says Chicagou was a post in 1683-1695, and remarks: "Le mot signifie la *Rivière de l'ail*, à cause qu'elle en produit naturellement sans aucun soin une très-grande quantité. Il y a là le village des Miamis, qui sont des gens fort bien faits; ils sont bons guerriers et extrêmement alertes. Ce sont de vrais et véritables lévriers."

chief, okwe′man; old chief, sheka′-tsho kwe′man; war chief, nä′no-weq′tan.

chin, mitaq′piqkan; miqtaq′pe-gan.

city, mi′nikân′; in the city, mi′ni-kâ′ni.

claws, "o^{n}sh′ko^{n}sh′;" the interpretation of the word Osh′kosh.

clear, wâka′mĭn.

cloud, â′naqkwŏt; *pl.*, â′naqkwo′-tan.

club, war, mitâ′gŏs.

clubbed, ke′papa′kaman′, i. e., clubbed with a stick, or with the fists.

coals, (live) watu′qsiŭ.

colleague, nikan′; *pl.*, nika′ni; term applied by medicine men to all others present within the ceremonial structure.

color, the terminal inseparable, ik, is employed when speaking of and designating colors; hasi′-nakŭŏ.

comb, pinäq′kŭan.

come, pi'ōt; after they have come, kespi'äito.
coot, shike'mĕ; o'kawa'sikŭ.
copulate, os'kima'moshiwe'.
corn (grain), wâ'pemin; *pl.*, wâ'peminŏk.
corpse, kaiis'nĕbäik.
cough, ni"na'"nomi.
council, ki'kitnau'; council house, ki'kitŭ'wikŏ'mĭk—wikŏ'mĭk, a house, from wig'iwam.
counters, stick; mä'ätiq: used in gaming.
crane, otä'tshia.
create, to; e"'tosheawŏk.
crooked, wâki"'; crooked river, wâki"'nin.
crow, kaka'kĕ.
crown (of head), uke'sonno'mĕ.
cut, to; kes'kanan, askikesh'kisama'.
dance, ne'moak. This word is also applied to the Dreamer society, usually called "the dance." It is claimed by some backsliding medicine men that it is a new degree of the Mitä'wit given by the Great Being to replace the preceding four degrees.
daughter, mitân'; her daughter, otâ'nan.
dawn, wâban'; peswâ'ba.
day, ke'sikŏt; *pl.*, ke'sikotŭn; two days, niske'sikŏt.
daylight, pi'ta'nowĕ; approaching daylight, wâban'.
dead, nepua'; nibän'; he is dead, ni'bŭa or keshni'po; dressing the dead, inä'netshi'pai, a mitä'" ceremony pertaining to the Ghost society, or preliminary to the Mitä'wit ritualistic observances.
death, nepäu'.
deceased, nibän'.
decoction, wabu'.
deep, temi'ŭ; deep, as a stream or pond.
deer, abä'shŭsh; opäshe'; opäiq'sus; buckskin, apäiq'so so'kum.
destroy, to, nä'natua, by depriving of life.
devil, ma'tshe hawai'tŏk, from ma'tshe, bad, and hawai'tŏk, god.
die, to, o'ski'nipa.
dish, onâ'qan; wop.
dish, medicine, mitäonâ'qan.
distant, wâ'sâ.
dive, to, kŏke'au.
do, to, ä'seata'a; they do, pĕ'qkiñ'".
dog, onäim'.
dream, ĕnâ'baqtan; his dream, enâ'baqtam; my dream, nita'nâbaq'tan.
drink, I am drinking, or, I drink, ninäq'sa; I shall drink, ninâminäim'.
drum, täwäiq'ikan.
drum, medicine, mitäi'towaq'ka. Ottawa, abâ'ana'kĭk, both medicine and war drum; from abâ'an, a sacrifice or roast, and a'kĭk, a kettle.
drum, tambourine, sik'si'kwan, used by wâbe'no and by gamblers. Ottawa, tewe"'igan.
drumstick, tawaqka'kwanäi'tĭk; from ta'waqikan or to'waqkwa, and nätĭk' or äq'tĭk, i. e., drum, stick. Ottawa, tewe'egan'atik.
dry, to, pâ'siwŏk.
duck (old-squaw duck), os'se; wood-duck, su'baisĭok; *pl.*, su'baisĭokŏk.
duck-hawk, poka'qtshiki, "the hitter."
dugout (canoe), mä'tehosh.
dusk, näni'takina'kua.
dwarf, awai'tŏkpa'niq, from awaitŏk, small, and pa'niq, boy.
dye, amŏq'taqtĭk.
eagle, bald, pinä'shiu; pinä'ssi.
eagle, golden, kinĕ'ñ". Coming to the eagle, kinĕ'ñ" wai'denât. Little-she-eagle, Ki'niki'sa. Eagle woman, Ki'niaqkĭ'ñ.
eagle-leg (plant), pinäi'ssi o'shet, a prairie plant, bearing yellow flowers, used as medicine.
eaglet, kĕne'shä; also ke'niaqk'isan, from kinĕ'ñ", eagle, and ki'se, little.
ear, miqtâ'wŏk; miq'tawŏk; *pl.*, miq'kawo'kun.
early, we'pŏts.
east, asmuq'kâhâ.
eat, mi'tisĭm; mi'tishĭm; mitiq'suŏn. I eat, or am eating, nimitiq'sĭm; minito'shin; thou eatest, kimitiq'sĭm; he eats, metshe'suŏq,

me'tshe'shŏ; we eat, kimi'tshiqsĭ; you eat, mitshiq'sikun; they eat, metshe'sŏwŏk.

eddy, wäwiaq'pitau.

eight, ssu'asĭk; eight times, ssu'asĭk ta'nano; eight hundred, ssu'asĭk ta'niwŏk; eight hundred and one, ssu'asĭk ta'niwŏk misik'ta niko'tine'.

eighteen, mita'ta ssu'asĭkhine'; i. e., ten and eight.

eighth, ssu'asĭk haia'nik.

eighty, ssu'asĭk mita'ta; eighty-one, ssu'asik mita'ta niko'tine'.

eleven, mita'ta niko'tine'; i. e., ten and one.

elk, omäs'kos.

elm, black, a'kemaq'tĭk.

enemy, mitshes'kiŭ^{v}; nitshi'kiŭ^{v}.

enough, manät'.

evening, näq'ka.

every, tânině'ŭ^{v}.

everybody, taqnä'no we'iak.

eye, miqke'sik; mishke'sĭk; *pl.*, miqke'sikan; mishke'sikan.

eyebrow, miq'kiqkwŭ'ŏn.

face, muqke'sik; mishke'sĭk.

fall (down), papeq'tsinan.

falling, babeq'tsin.

far, wâ'sâ.

father, noq'ně.

feast, kaino$^{v/}$; as applied to ceremonial of the Ghost society or observances of preliminary ceremony of the Mitä'wit.

fetish, otoq'kaniman.

few, mä'nawats.

fiber, (made of bark), na'shipu't-shikan.

fifteen, mita'ta ni'ananhi'ne, i. e., ten and five.

fifth, nĭ'nanaiâwik.

fifty, ni'anan mita'ta; fifty-one, ni'anan mita'ta niko'tine'.

finger, mi'ne'nenä'tshin; *pl.*, mi'ne'nenä'tshinan.

finger, first, mi'tânoq'ikan.

finger, little, mitäskuo'tsine.

finger nail, miskâs'.

fingers, unäq'keq'san, i. e., little hand; his or her fingers, unäq'-keqsi'.

fir, wotâp'.

fire, esko'tä; *pl.*, esko'tän; also e'shkota, as in Ojibwa.

first, ai'awis; ai'awish.

fish, nomäsh'; fishes generically and generally, kaiä'nomek ko'sa.

fish-hawk, pe'niki'konan.

fisher, wu'tshik; wŭtsik'.

five, ni'anän; five times, ni'ana'-nanŏ; five hundred, ni'ana'ni-wŏk; five hundred and one, ni'ananiwŏk misikta niko'tine'.

flat, it is, napa'kiken.

flour, päqkĭ'nishe'čkĕ'ŭ^{v}, literally, pulverized like ashes; from päq'-ki, ashes, and nishe'čkĕ'u^{v}, like, similar to; also paqki'sĭkan—wheat, bread.

flyer, oqpe'ta^{v}, one who is a member of the thunderers, i. e., hawks, eagles, etc.; *pl.*, oqpe'ta-wŏk.

flying, pă'kotĕ'ŭ^{v}, e. g., spray—nipĕ'ŭ^{v} pâ'kotĕŭ^{v}, "water flying." Flying-by, Päme'net, a personal name.

foam, pi'ita.

food, metshĭm'.

foot, miset'; my foot, ni'sita^{v}.

footprint, misäq'pa.

forearm, left, mi'nä'maqtshiau'.

forearm, right, mi'naba'kan.

forehead, miq'kä.

forenoon, mid, käna'maqtsĭŭ; snawaq'kik.

forty, ni'^{v}ino mita'ta; forty-one, ni$^{v/}$ino mita'ta niko'tine'.

four, ni'ŭ^{v}; ni$^{v/}$; four times, ni'wino; four hundred, ni'wŏk; four hundred and one, ni'wŏk misĭk'ta niko'tine'.

fourteen, mita'ta ni'hine', ten and four.

fourth, niwĭ'no.

fox, red, wa'kŏ.

French, Frenchman, Wä'mäq-tiko'sĭŭ^{v}, Wä'mäq'tikosĭ'ŭ^{v}.

friend, me'mŏt; my friend, ne'at; neât'.

frost, kŭniq'katan'; poniq'kotan.

froth, pe'ĕtĕŭ^{v}.

fun, onä'nekŭot.

gag (retch), mamä'tshoqki (to be sick).

gall, miqkon'; we'sup.

game, âkaq'siwŏk, played with eight pieces of deer-horn, four of which are colored. They are

shaken in a wooden bowl, and the result decided according to the number of white and colored sides uppermost. Also called ākas-siānōk.

garter-snake, ssa sowi kino pik: from ssa sowi, olive colored, and kino pik, snake.

German, Ane mau: *pl.*, Ane manwōk.

ghost, tshipai: tshipe: ghost feast, tshipe kaino'.

giant, ke'nē: mā nābai: *pl.*, mā nabaiwok.

girl, kiqsē'se.

give, to, me'kēm: to give to someone else, menān; I give, nimi'kim: give to me, nime nekem.

go, I am going, nika timā tshiam.

god, wai ēdok: Hawā tōk: Hawai-etōk, the God of the whites.

gold, osāwa ssu'nien from waisa-wik, yellow, and ssu'nien or shu-nien, metal, money.

gone, they are gone not alive, keihmā tshi wōk: after they have gone, kesma tshiado'.

good, kishā': ki tshi (rarely used): wiski': good looking, ai onēsh i.

granddaughter, noq sēsē.

grandmother, noko mis: noqko-mis: also a term for the personification of the earth.

grandson, noq sēsē.

grass, ose kau.

grasshopper, kaku'ēne. kaku'enē ū', "the juniper."

great, ki sha: māts: mā ts: mā-tshi: Great Mystery, Kishā Manido.

green, ashke paki': wisa waskīk.

ground, ne kau.

hail, mise kaqnau: the hail with snow, first of the season. Maq-kūūmbabe qtsin, i. e., falling ice.

hair, me nē': *pl.*, me nē'nūn.

half, a pūtā.

half moon, e'sikan ikiū'.

halloo, hiho: hōho'.

hammer, pakag tshikā'sā.

hand, u'nāq: his or her hand, u'nūq ki: right-hand, minā'.

handed, he struck it left, nama qtē'k anaq tam.

hare, wabōs'.

hasten, kaq tse'idan.

hasty, ne'qkoshi'anē ū'.

hat, wi'oqkū'an.

hawk, chicken, me shinikā'ke.

hawk, duck, pokaq tshiki, "the hitter."

hawk, fork-tail. *See* kite.

hawk, red-tail, maq kwokāni: ma'qkuana ni: *Buteo borealis*.

hawk, sharp-shin, kise watossē.

hawk, sparrow, pipo nā'nē'.

hazel, kwapn owē: o kapn owe.

he, ki.

head, mes: *pl.*, me sun: his head, wes: man's head, inā niū'wes.

heart, mitā'.

heaven, ke'sekoq.

heel, miqka'an.

hemp, wild, shā'nap: used for making thread and cord.

here, io's.

heron, great, shak'shak'ēn.

hide of an animal, sho'kum: so'-kum.

hip, no'kan: my hip, ni nokau: your hip, keno'kau.

his, we'nach: wi'naq: winē': ot before words beginning with a vowel or aspirate *h*: o before a word beginning with a consonant. It is his, winē'otin.

hog, kokosh'.

honey, a moso'poma.

horizon, aqku'apeqtā mā.

horn-bow, we'win.

horse, pa'sikn gāsi.

house (wigwam): wi'kiōp: wikō-mik, my house, ni nānik: ni wigiwam: ni wikō'mik.

hummingbird, na'natska. *Trochilus colubris*.

hundred, niku'nwāk: hundred and one, niku'nwāk misik'ta niko'tine': one hundred and two, niku'nwāk misik'ta ni'sshine'.

husband, minā'piuin.

I, ni nā.

I am drinking, nimā'nim.

I am going, nika dama tshiām: I am going tomorrow, nika doinā-tshiam waba'.

I caught him, nitā'pinau'.

I caught him by the throat, okoq toka ni nitā'pinau'.

I did drink, nikes minām.

I have gone, nikeshmatshiam.

I shall drink, ninâ′minäm′.
I want to drink, nika′taminäm.
ice, mäqkŭ′ŏm; maqku′ŭm.
if, kis′pin.
in, inĕ″.
Indian, mamâ′tsĕita′; sometimes abbreviated to mamâ′tshim; mama′tshĕ′tau, literally "he is moving," or the "moving one;" *pl.*, mamatshe″′tawŏk.
infant, ni′tshian.
infusion, wabu′.
iron, oqko′mon.
it, ki.
it is, hawe^{v}′.
it is high, ishpe′kan.
it is his, ĭno′otin.
it is mine, ni^{n}nä′nitin.
it is ours, nina′nitinina.
jack pine, u′kiqkaq′tĭk.
jawbone, mitaq′piqkan.
judgment, tepaq′kano käwin.
juggler, tshi′saqka; jugglery, tshi′saqkan.
juice, kwopŏ.
jumper, kaku′enĕŭ^{v}, one who jumps; the grasshopper.
Kaukau′na, a town in Wisconsin; from the Menomini "ogâq′kanĕ," signifying "the place of pike." The Indians formerly fished there for pike—okâ′wa.
Keshena, from Menomini Kĕshi″′nĕ—"swift-flying." The name refers to the village located on the Menomini reservation, and is also the name of one of Shu′nien's brothers. Their father, Josette, was one time fasting, and during his period of visions he thought he saw the air filled with many eagles and hawks, representatives of the Thunder phratry, flying rapidly by. This circumstance caused him to give the name Kĕshi″′ne to the next male infant born to him, which occurred very shortly thereafter.
kettle, aqkä′.
kidney, mito′nine′sĕ.
kill, to, oskinä″′ni: nä′natua; killed, na^{n}″′nau′, referring to many that may be killed, as fish, birds, etc.
kingfisher, okä′skimâmĭ′.
kite, fork-tail, sha′wana′ni.
knee, mikä′tĭk.
knife, drawing, wâgaq′koman.
knuckle, migäq′sikwon.
lake, nipe′se; nipe′shĕ.
large, mä′tshi: ma′tshi.
late, nowä′.
later, ne′awäq′kik.
laugh, aiä′nin; to laugh, aiä′ni; I laugh, ni′aiä′nim; they are laughing, aiä′niwŏk; the laugher, aiä′nu^{v}, i. e., the opossum.
lead (metal), misâ′ba.
leader, miq′kinĕ′nĭ.
leaf, ânipi′ŏqkan; *pl.*, ânipi′ŏqkanan.
leg, miqkât′: his or her leg; oqkât′.
leggings, skin, mitiq′san.
life, bama′desiwin: living people; bama′desitŭ′a.
lightning, unâ′tawa′pin.
like, hishe′ĕkĕ′ŭ^{v}, i. e., similar.
limb (of tree), ŏq′täqkwan.
little, awai′tŏk, keqsan′; peshe′.
live, to, a′sabema′tisitu′a: you live, ke′bama′tisĭm: you are still alive, mi′tshinĕ′ŭ^{v} ke′bama′tisĭm.
long (time), kinis′.
look for, to, na′taho′toa.
love-powder, tako′sawŏss.
low, hiqka′tĕ, when referring to anything being low, as low water.
lung, miqpâ′nŭn.
lye, päq′kewo′po. Made from wood ashes and used for softening ligneous fibers in making thread and cords.
lynx, kitâ′bâkŭs.
maid, old, mu′sâpi′aqkiŭ.
mallet (of wood), mäq′tĭkpaqaq′tshikan.
man, inä′nī: inä′nĭŭ^{v}; *pl.*, inä′nĭwŏk; medicine man, mitä′^{v}; also miq′kiuäniu^{v}.
man, old, kĕ′tshinä′nĭŭ^{v}, from ke′tshi, old, and inä′nĭŭ^{v}, man.
Mä′näbŭsh, a mythic personage, who received from Kishä′ Ma′nido the ritual of the Mitä′wit or Medicine society, and who in turn instructed mankind therein; the grandson of Noko′mis, the earth: a hero-god, who, later on, became involved in many amusing affairs with the evil

beings and the animals, but who ultimately removed to a distant place from which he watches the welfare of the human (Indian) race. The word is from mä tshi, great, all powerful, and wabŭs', hare; i. e., the Great Hare, not so in size, but in power. Ojibwa, Me'nabo'zho. Ottawa, Nä'näbozho, from nänan', foolish or insignificant; as he became involved in many silly affairs and lost caste, though ultimately being transported to another and better camping ground.

Manitowoc, mä näto wŏk, "much game;" a town in eastern Wisconsin.

Manitou-wauk, "The home or place of the spirits."—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 290, 337.

many, mä'se: masĕ'.

maple, hard, sheshi kimä—*Acer saccharinum*; the species used for sugar-making.

maple, soft, shipi'asho pomäq tiki, from shi pia, river; sho'poma, sugar; and äq tik, tree.

marten, wab ashĭn; wä'päq'sĕ.

master, our, täpä'nimenaq.

mat, of bark, âna'qkian.

mat, of rush, hanaq'kin.

medicine, maski'ki: mashkiqkiñ'; medicine man, mitä'; member of Medicine society, miq'kinäni.

medicine bag, peqtshĕnama'wan; peq'tihikŭna.

medicine lodge, mitä wikŏmik; mitä'wikiŏp; mitä'wigiwam. The inclosure or structure within which the Medicine society meets for the observance of the rites of initiation.

medicine man, miq'kinäni: mitä'; tshi'saqka (juggler).

medicine post, mitä'waqtik; erected in medicine inclosure during ceremonies of initiation.

medicine society, the, Mitä'wit.

Menomini', omä'nominĕ'ŭ'; *pl.*, omi'nominewŏk'. From mä'nomĕ, rice, and inänŭ', man.

mercy, shawä'shiqtshikan.

mercy, on us, sawä newe'aq.

meteor, tshiq'kwan; hanaq'papĕqtsi, *lit.*, a falling star.

midday, nĕ'awäiqkik.

midnight, haiä'paqtañ tipäiq'ka.

Milwaukee. Pronounced by the Indians Me-ne-aw'-kee; a rich or beautiful land.—Grignon Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337. The Menomini designation is Mänäwŏt. Shu'nien was told by a Potawatomi Indian that the country in the vicinity was very beautiful, with a river running through it, where the Indians went to fish. The Potawatomi furthermore stated that although he himself had frequently gone there to fish, and although the water seemed favorable as a good place, he could never catch anything. For this reason the Menomini employ the word above given to express the idea that "there was nothing where there ought to have been something."

mine, ne'naq.

mink, saq'ke.

moccasin, maq'käsin; *pl.*, maq'käsinan. Ojibwa, mak'kŏzin.

money, shu'nien; su'nien; ssunien.

-mouth, ni'kŏt ke'so; i. e., one-sun: tabaq' ke'so; i. e., night sun.

moon, kas hekoqkañ, i. e., "one-who-carries light;" tepäke'so, *lit.*, last-night-sun; half-moon, e'sikan'iklŭ'.

moose, mo^{u}'s.

morning, nip.

mortar, äshä'kan.

mother, ki o': my mother, ni'klo': his mother, o'kiun.

mouse, naniq'sĕ. Koq'kipikqki, a mythic animal that cut the sinew by which the sun had been made a prisoner.

mouth, midăn': mitom.

mud, asĕs ki'.

muskrat, o'sass'; o'k'shŏsh.

my, nit, before words beginning with a vowel, and aspirate h; ni before a consonant.

myself, ni^{n}′nä.
myth, a′ten′qen.
narrative, a′tano′qen.
natural, inän′.
navel, mitä^{n}; his navel, otä′.
neck, miqki′kan; miq′tigan.
necklace (shell), miqki′mŭn.
Negro, Äpä′sen Wä′meqtikosiŭ^{v}. i. e., black Frenchman.
nephew, nipui′näimä′, i. e., brother's son.
nettle, mashân′: a plant of the genus *Urtica*, the fiber of which is made into thread.
new, oske′, oshke′.
niece, nipui′näimä′, i. e., sister's daughter.
night, tipäq′; tobaq′: uni′tipaqkot; wani′tipäqka.
nine, sa′kä; nine times, sâ′käta′nano; nine hundred, sâ′käta′niwŏk; nine hundred and one, sâ′käta′niwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′.
nineteen, mita′ta saka′hine′, i. e., ten and nine.
ninety, sa′kä mita′ta, i. e., nine times ten; ninety-one, sa′kä mita′ta niko′tine′; ninety-nine, sa′kä mita′ta sa′kähine′.
ninth, sa′kähai′awik.
no, kan.
nobody, kan we′iak: *lit.*, not somebody.
none, kan.
noon, nĕ′awäq′kĭk.
north, atshike′sĭŭ^{v}; the north wind, atshi′kesiwä′enan, one of the deities.
nose, mitshi′os.
nostril, mitâ′nikum.
notch (in arrowshaft), anŏ′peqkan.
nothing, kan.
now, sa′′ie; yoq′pe; nemak′.
oak, black, ane′pakakŭ′aqtĭk: the bark is crushed and boiled in water; the solution is employed to bathe sore eyes.
oats, pa′siku′gäsi meno′mä; literally horse rice.
observed, náki′sĭt.
Oconto, "boat paddle;" a town in eastern Wisconsin.
old, kitshki′ŭ^{v}.
olive (color), ssa′sowi.
once, nekot′eno; in Menomini the suffix eno′ is employed to make multiplying numbers from the cardinals; as ssu′asik, eight: ssuasik′eno, eight times.
one, ni′kŏts; one hundred, niku′tuwŏk: one thousand, niku′tiqnŏk: also abbreviated into 'nkut′wŏk.
opossum, aiä′nu^{v}; *lit.*, the laugher.
Osh′kosh, a city in eastern Wisconsin. The name is that of the late chief of the Menomini Indians, âss′kâss—"bear's claw"—whose second son, Niopet, is at present the head of that tribe as well as judge of the Indian court. See p. 46.
otter, mikek′.
our, nit: before words beginning with a vowel, or aspirate h; ni before a consonant.
ours, ne′nach.
ourselves, nĭna′′.
owl, great horned (*Bubo virginianus*), kŭku′kŭŭ′; saw-whet, toto′ba, dodo′ba.
paddle, pi; I paddle, nipi′hikem; you (thou) paddle, pi′hike′nŭn; he paddles, pi′hikem; we paddle, nipi′hike′minan^{v}; ye paddle, pi′hikekŭ′na; they paddle, pi′hikewŏk; we two paddle (dual), nishimenan′piheke^{v}; they two paddle (dual), nishiwŏk-pihike′wŏk.
paint, wäsi′huan.
panther, pise′ŭ^{v}; peshe′; pishe′ŭ^{v}.
paper, ma′shena′qekan.
partisan, miq′kinŏ′nĭ; mash′kinĕniŭ^{v}.
past, kesh; is a prefix to a phrase relating to a thing or act thus acted or occurred; he is dead, keshni′po: they have gone, keshmâtshiwŏk.
path, mi′qegân; mi′hikan.
Pee-wau-kee, pronounced, and should be spelled, Pee-wau-nawkee: the flinty place—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III. 1857, 337.
pelvis, oshi′kan.
penis, me′nŏk.
people, bama′teshituŏg.

pestle, äshâ′kanäq′tĭk, i. e., mortar stick, from äshâ′kan and äq′tĭk, stick.
phratry, wi′dishi′anŭn.
pigeon, wild, omi^{n}′ni^{v}.
pike, okâ′wa, a species of fish; ogâq′kanĕ, "the place of fish"; the name of a town in Wisconsin, Kaukau′na.
pine, äskä′.
pine squirrel, naku′ti; the archaic name is una′wanĭnk, and occurs in mythology.
pipe, uq′puokan, oqpu′akan; my pipe, nit oqpu′akan.
pipe (of stone), aqpu′akan.
pipe stem, aqpu′akan nâq′tĭk, i. e., pipe stick.
place, that, kĭyu′; at that place, tĕ′.
plenty, ma′nät.
porcupine, kitä′mi; kitä′mu.
pork, kokosh′.
post, medicine, mitä′waqtĭk; a post in the medicine lodge or inclosure, during ceremonies of initiation.
potato, oqpän′; *pl.*, oqpän′iŏk.
potato, swamp, wâboqpän′; a tuber found in wet places, used for food.
powder (love), tako′sawŏss.
prairie, masko′tia.
preserve (of fruit), piq′kiman.
previous to, kanau′mĕqtshĭŭ′.
printĕr′, mase′naqnâtek.
prophet. *See* juggler.
pungent, we′sŏkan.
purple, piq′kimana′moqta′qtĭk; i. e., preserve dye, or the tint of preserved plums or cherries.
quiver, piq′tauwan.
rabbit, wabŭs′.
raccoon, ä′sepau.
rain, kime′wan.
rainbow, we′iwĭ′ke koq′se miq′egân; i. e., "old women's path."
raisin, sho′min.
rat, nani′sĕ.
rattle, ssisi′kwan. Ottawa, shishi′ogwan (of gourd); same name if used for the same purpose.
rattlesnake, hann^{n}′ĕ; the variety found in the prairie-dog towns; sinâ′wäta, i. e., rattling-tail. *Crotalus horridus;* Missasauga rattlesnake, nâ′tâwe′; rattlesnake skin medicine bag, inä′wetŏ′.
raven, inäq′tĕk. In Cree, "käkâkiw" is the crow.
reach, to, pi′etät; i. e., to reach or arrive at a certain place.
red, mâq′kĭk; mäq′kĭk; maq′kĭŭ^{v}. Cf. blood.
reeds, pe′wona′skin—aquatic plants.
resemble, to, hesh′ĕkĕ′ŭ^{v}.
rib, miq′pepa′kun.
ribs (of canoe), pekä′kanŏk.
rice, meno′mä; the wild rice *Zizania aquatica*, after which the tribe is named.
rice-beater, pawa′qikan; *pl.*, pawaq′ikanan; a stick for beating rice from the stalk.
right arm, mi′täni′niĕn.
right hand, minä′.
river, se′pĕ; si′pĕ; sho′pĕ; shi′pĕ. Menomini river, Mi′nikâ′ni se′pe.
road, mi′qikan; on the other side of the road, a′sawiq′kana.
rock, ase′päq.
root (of tree), otsĭ′pĕ.
round, it is, wa′tane′ken.
run, to, kaq′tse′idan; I run, nikaq′tshikam.
rye, a′nemanpaq ki′sikan, i. e., "German bread."
saliva, säqkom′.
salt, she′weqtâ′ken; i. e., "sour and sweet"; she′weta′kan, string of salt crystals, she′weta′kanni′ap; salted string for baiting traps, she′weta′kau kaq′kop.
sand, ne′kan; asĕs′ki.
sap, kwopŏ; sap of maple, sho′pomäkwo′po′, i. e., sugar sap.
saw, to, ä′ski′keshhipoto′.
saw-whet owl, toto′ba; dodo′ba.
scalp, mi′noq kwu′ŏn.
scared, sagi′si^{v}.
scrape, to, paskwo′hiki.
scraper, paskwo′hekan; made of wood, and used in dressing deer skin: pe′kwaho′kan.
search, to, na′taho′toa.
second, misi′kaia′wit.
seen, nâkisĭt.
seer. *See* juggler.
seven, noq′wikan; seven times,

noq′wikata′na′no; seven hundred, noq′wikan ta″niwŏk; seven hundred and one, noq′wikan ta″nowok misi′kta niko′tine′.

seventeen, mita′ta noq′wikan-hine′; i. e., ten and seven.

seventh, noq′wikan hai′awĭk.

seventy, noq′wikan mita′ta.

sew, to, me′sokna′san.

Shawano. Name of a town and lake in eastern Wisconsin. An old Indian named Sha′wano—"Southerner"—formerly dwelt on the shore of the lake, which was subsequently named after him.

She-boy-gan, a hollow bone.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin. III, 1857, 337.

shell, es′; *pl.*, e′sak; konä′pämik, the *Cypræa moneta*, used in the ceremonies of the "Grand Medicine society." Mi′gis of the Ojibwa and Ottawa.

shin, kiqkaq′kwun.

shoot, to, pĕmo′tsiken.

shore, tshik′tshitĕm.

shortly, nowe′na.

shoulder, mitâ′mimaq′kan.

silver, wai′îbis′kik ssu′nien; i. e., white metal or money.

similar, heshe′čkĕŭ^{v}; hishe′čkĕŭ^{v}.

sinews, otshi′tan; titan′; your sinews, kiti′tan.

sirup, she′wakamĭtä^{v}.

sister, elder, ni′me′, said by younger brother; sisters, nidishê^{n}′nŏk; elder or younger sisters, niko′shimaq′; younger sister, na′se′; my elder sister, nema; my eldest sister, mi′tshikiqkwe′wis.

six, nikutwa′sätä; six times, ni′kutwa′säta na′nŏ; six hundred, ni′kutw′asätä niwŏk; six hundred and one, ni′kutwasätä niwŏk′ misik′ta niko′tine′.

sixteen, mita′ta nikutwa′satä-hine′; i. e., ten and six.

sixth, nikn′twas′ätä hai′awĭk.

sixty, ni′kutw′asätä mi′tata; sixty-one, ni′kutwa′sätä mi′tata niko′tine′.

skin, kinok′; so′kum; antelope skin, omâ′skŭs so′kum.

skunk, shĭkâk; shikâ′ko; shikâ′-go; place of the skunk, shikâ′-gŭnk. Ottawa, shi′kâgo; Cree, shikâk, sikâk; locative, sikâkôk.

sky, ke′sĭk; ke′shĭk. I see the sky, ke′sĭk inâ′men.

slave, mamâ′ka^{v}.

sleep, nebân′.

slip, to, he or she slipped, osha′-shishin′; they slipped, osha′shi-shi′nŏk.

slipped, we, ki′tosha′shishine′.

small, peshĕ′; awai′tŏk.

smoke, na′etä.

snake, kino′pik; kine′bik.

snake, grass, ose′kan kino′pik, small green snake found in grassy places.

snake, water, ne′pish kino′pik.

snow, kon.

snowshoe, a′kamok; snowshoe tree, a′kema′qtĭk, name for black elm.

snuff, pe′tskikŏmâ′kan.

society, medicine, Mitä′wit.

soil, ne′kan.

some, anä′; hâ′ne.

somebody, we′iak.

son, kīs; my son, nikis; thy son, ki′kis′, your sons, kikiso′wawŏk′; his or her son, oki″san.

soon, sŏ′kana″nĭŭ^{v}; as soon, or as soon as, kaiyes′.

soot, wepenâ′âtä.

sour, she′wequčn.

south, sâwa′no; ssâ′wâno; shâ′-wâno. *See* Shawano.

south wind, sa′wâna′nan.

sparrow-hawk, pĭpo′nä′nĕ^{v}; ke′-shawa′toshe.

speak, ki′kitwŏn.

spear (war), mitâ′niqtĭ, mitan′-niqti.

spears (fish), hani′tiyŏn.

spirit (of dead), mitä′tsĭŏk′; the "shade, or shadow," of the dead, which is supposed to hover about his home for four days.

spirits, kawä′tokan, i. e., supernatural beings.

spittle, säqkom′.

sport, onä′nekŭot.

spot, that, kiyu′.

spray, nipeŭ^{v} pâkotĕ′ŭ^{v}, i. e., "flying water."

spring (season), sayi'kwakĭn.
squirrel, unâ'waniuk.
squirrel, gray, tamo'ⁿ.
squirrel, pine, una'wanĭuk'.
stabbed. He or she was stabbed, kes'poshi'pahan.
stand, ne'puam; I stand, nine'puam; thou art standing, kine'puam; he or she is standing, nepue'; it is standing, ne'puwe'makŏt; we are standing, nine'puam'inan; ye are standing, kine'puwe'nu; they are standing, nepuwe'mŏk.
star, anaq', haⁿnaq'; *pl.*, anaq'kŏk, hana'qkŏk.
startled, to be, sagi'siᵛ.
stern, of boat, oti'nopi'ane.
stick, me'tĭk, äq'tĭk.
stick, singing, pa'kabe'kanak.
stomach, mimä'ⁿanŏt.
stone, a'ⁿasĕn, ase'päq.
story, a'tano'qen.
straight, mian'.
strike, to, askipaqti'; struck it left handed, namaq'tŏkanaq'tam.
string, kaq'kŏp.
string, salted, she'weta'kan kaq'kop; used for baiting rabbit and other traps.
stump, otsi'pĕ.
sturgeon, namä'iᵛ; nomä'en; to kill sturgeon, nami'ŏqka.
Sturgeon bay, Noma'wiqkito.
suck, sucking, sho'poqta.
sudatory, pe'mikamĭk.
sufficient, ma'nät.
sugar, sho'pomä; maple sugar, inä'nsho'poma, i. e., natural sugar.
sugar, granular, na'kawa'hekataᵛ.
summer, neⁿpeno'ä.
sun, ke'so; ge'so; ke''so.
sunfish, naku'ti; keta'kibihot, i. e., "the striped one;" the archaic name. Ottawa, keta'kibihit.
sunrise, maioq'kaqa; moq'kaha, i. e., "digging something out of the ground."
sunset, naiĭk'; nĭk.
surprise, sagi'siᵛ.
surprised, geo''netshiᵛ; to be surprised, kes''netshiᵛ.
swamp, moskĭk'.
sweat-bath, pe'mĭn; Ojibwa, mido'dowiwin.
sweat-lodge, pe'mikamĭk; Ottawa, mädo'osăn.
sweet, se'wan; she'wan.
sweet-flag, weq'ke.
swim, to ŏnä'nin.
talisman, otoq'kaniman.
talk, ki'kitwŏn.
tamarack, mo'nipiono'we.
tambourine-drum, täwä'qikan, used for social dancing.
tan, to, pi'kuaha.
tasting, sho'poqta.
tattoo marks, tä'tshikaqun'.
tea, infusion, wabu'.
ten, mita'ta, ten times, mita'ta'nano.
tenth mita'ta hai'awĭk.
terrible-looking, Aqki'nakŏshĕ'; a personal name.
that, tä; tĕ'; enĕ'.
that is, hawe''.
theirs, we'nach; ot, before words beginning with a vowel or aspirate h; o before a word beginning with a consonant; winŭ''ä ati'nuwañ, it is theirs.
them, akim'; wi'nua.
then, enĕ'; inĕ''.
there, tę'; asha'wĭk.
these, akum'—animate pronoun.
they, akim'; ki'ñᵛ; wi'nua.
thick, it is, keqpä'kan.
thigh, miqtshi'ikwŏn.
thin, it is, pepâ'kan.
thine, ke'nach.
third, aqgots'.
thirteen, mita'ta na''nihine'; i.e., ten and one.
thirty, na''nino mita'ta; i. e., thrice ten; thirty-one, na''nino mita'ta niko'tine'.
this, iom; yom; applied to inanimate things, ehaiyom'.
those, anino'; aki'ko.
thousand, nikn'tiqnŏk; sometimes abbreviated, in conversation, to 'nku'twok.
thread, kaq'pape'shi; made either of hemp, nettle, or cotton.
three, na''nĭ.
three hundred, na''niwŏk; three hundred and one, na''niwŏk misik'ta niko'tine'.

threshing-stick, pawa'qikanäq'tĭk, for threshing rice from the hull or husk.
thrice, na''ninŏ.
throat, mikoqtägan; mikoq'takan.
throat, by the, oko'qtoka'ni.
thrust, to (with a pole or spear), posi'pahatu'a.
thumb, nikä'atshine.
thunder, inä'mäqkĭ'ŭ^{v}; *pl.*, inä'mäqki'wŏk, i. e., the flying gods; Little Thunder (personal name), lnä'maqki'sa.
ticklish; na''tshiso', ticklish; he or she is ticklish, kina''tshito; tickle him, (imper.) kina''tshishĭn.
time, pĕ.
tobacco, nä''nimau.
today, yŏq'peos ke'sikoq; yumke'sikŏt.
toe, kiset; big toe, mats'ki'set; *pl.*, mise'tesan; little toe, kiseteq'se; *pl.*, kiseteqsan.
toe nail, miskâs'; kis'kâsh.
told, he has told, keswe'qtamŏ'wau.
tomorrow, wâba'; wâboq'.
tomorrow, day after, koqke'wâba'.
tongue, mitä'nuni^{v}; my tongue, nitä'nuni'a^{v}.
tooth, me'äbĭt; me'pit; *pl.*, mepitan; me'bit; your tooth, ke'bit; my tooth, ni'bit; his or her tooth, ne'bĭt.
tortoise, maqkä'no'; miqkä'no.
town, mini'kân.
trail, mi'qikä'sä.
transparent, wâka'mĭu.
trap, ta''nuna'gan; stick trap, or one for small animals, me'tĭk ta''nu'nagan'; rabbit trap, wabŭs' ta''nu'nagan'.
tree, äq'tĭk, mä'tik; *pl.*, mä'tikŏk.
trunk, of tree, mise'waiqtĭk.
tumble, to, papeq'tsinan.
turkey, masse'nä.
turkey buzzard, opash'koshi.
turtle, maqkä'no, miqkä'no.
twelve, mita'ta ni'shine; i. e., ten and two.
twenty, ni'sinomita'ta; i. e., twice ten; twenty-one, ni'sino mita'ta niko'tine'.
twice, ni'sinŏ.
twig, me'tĭk; äq'tĭk.
twine, pi'minaq kwan; made of nettle, basswood bark, or such as is purchased.
twist, pi'minaq'kim; I twist, nipi'minaqkim; thou twisteth, pi'minaq'kinun; he twists, pi'minaq''kŏ; we twist, ki'piminaq'ki; ye or you twist, pi'minaq'kowŏk; they twist, pi'minaq'kowŏk; we two twist (dual), ki'nishipi'mi'naq'kiya; they two twist (dual), ni'shitŭa'piminaq'kitŭa.
two, nis; nish; two hundred, ni'suwŏk; two hundred and one, ni'suwŏk misi'kta niko'tine'.
uncle, 'ndâ'.
underground spirits, ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ. The opponents of the Thunderers, and of all that is good.
up, to go, ke'nuna'ha, referring to up stream.
urine, shikin'.
us, nina''.
veins, kikäse'nan.
village, mi'nikân'; in the village, mi'nikâ'ni.
vomit, me'minem; I vomit, nime'minem.
vulva, mika'san; her vulva, oka'sanan'.
walk to, pemo''non; we are walking, nipa^{n}'moq ne'menan; he or she is walking, pimoq'nĕ.
war club, mitâgŏs; mitau'gŏs.
warrior, nä'nauwe'qta.
warspear, mitâ'niqtĭ; mitau'niqti.
water, nipe'ŭ^{v}; ne'pish.
Wan-ke-sha—pronounced by the Ojibwa, Waw-goosh-sha: the little fox.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.
Wau-pe-te-see-pe—the Indian word is Wee-be-te-see-pee: Tooth river.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.
Wausau. An Ojibwa word pertaining to a town. The story told by the Menomini is that an Ojibwa was one time walking

by a hunter's cabin, in the direction of the place where this town has since been built, and as the hunter asked the Indian where he was going, he replied, "wâ'sâ, wâ'sâ.—far, far," meaning to a great distance.

wax, amo'pĕme.

we, ki'nua (sometimes used); nina'.

we two, (dual form), na^{n}ish'; we two are walking, na'ish ni'kipa^{n}-moqna'ŭ'.

weasel, sĕ'ko; sheko'.

west, as'nik.

whale, mä'shĕnomäk; a mythic water monster, erroneously termed a whale.

what, wa; wä'ki.

wheat, paqki'sĭkan; mishaq'ki-minag'oshĕ'ŭ^{v}.

when, ta'apĕ.

when are you coming again? ta'ape misik' api'ian.

when are you going? awisi'an.

where, tano'ka; ta'nâga.

where are you going? ha'nŏke'-sian.

where were you born? ta'nok-aiis' oqta'tisi'an.

white, wabi'skĭŭ^{v} wäbish'kĭŭ^{v}; "natural color," waia'biskik; generic, indicated by inseparable particle ik.

white man, moq'kuman.

who, howä'nĕ.

whoop, hŏho'.

whose is it?, owä'otin.

widower, se'kâi.

wife, nĕ'u^{v}.

willow, dwarf, kenu'shi shike'-puĭ.

wind, no'ten; *pl.* no'tenän; no we'nan; south wind, sha'wâ'na'-nan; north wind, Atshi'kesiwäi'e-nan, one of the deities.

winter, pono'ĕ; pe'pon.

wolf, mâq'wa'io; moqwai'o. Wolf river, Mâqwai'o oshi'piomĕ, "wolf, his river."

woman, mita'mu; mitä'mu.

woman, old, ne'ŏwikä.

wood, mäq'sewan; äq'tĭk, ma'tĭk.

woodcock, bäboq'kewĕ'ŭ; a mythic personage.

work, to, ä'seätä'a.

ye, kimu'ä.

year, bĕbo'na; *pl.* bĕbo'nan, pe'-pon.

yellow, waioâ'wik; osha'win.

yes, e^{n}.

yesterday, onâ'ko.

yesterday, day before, koq ke' wanâkŏ^{v}.

yoke, neck, nai'omâgan; used in carrying buckets of water, maple sap—when sugar making—and other articles.

you, ki'nua; kina'; kinĕ'.

young, oskĕ', oshkĕ'.

yours, ki'naq; ke'nach; it is yours, kinĕ'kitin.

yourselves, kimu'ä.

youth, o'päqnisĕ.

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